BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

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OUTLINE

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

> Preamble: The most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic, facing Europe: and the most important geographical fact in lending a distinct character to their future history will probably be their location on the Pacific, opposite Asia.*

> "The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."**

A. A Mixed Race -- Probably Mongolian and Caucasian

In large measure Japan belongs to ancient history. Concerning the racial origin of no great people do we know so little with exactness as of the Japanese. Many theories have been advanced, but slight is the evidence which supports most of them. Like most of the great peoples of the world they are undoubtedly a mixed race. The predominant racial characteristics are Mongolian, with a possible Caucasian admixture. For the purposes of our consideration she was until little more than seventy years ago, practically a hermit nation.

1. Attempts to Open Negotiations

Two little known and unnoticed attempts were made early in the nineteenth century to open negotiations with Japan, both of which were unsuccessful. The first was attempted in 1832 and again in 1835 by Edmund Roberts, American Minister to

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*Semple, Geographic Influence in U.S., p. 6.
**Seward, William H., July 29, 1852

Siam. His death following his second attempt prevented further negotiations, until a member of the House of Representatives from New York, Zadock Pratt, presented a resolution which recommended "that immediate measures be taken for effecting commercial arrangements with the empire of Japan and the kingdom of Korea." A few months later Commodore Biddle, U.S.N., was instructed to take the utmost care to ascertain if the ports of Japan were accessible. This was the first official attempt to establish official relations between the United States and Japan. This attempt was repulsed with the statement from the Japanese government "that our customs are in this respect different from those of some other nations, but every nation has a right to manage its affairs in its own way." So permission to trade was peremptorily refused, and Biddle was not only asked but urged to depart at once. Intercourse with foreign countries was banned, and the Japanese were commanded to stay at home.

(a) Effect of the Admission of California to Statehood in 1850

The admission of California to the Union in 1850 gave added reason for interest in Japan. There had been direct voyages from San Francisco to Shanghai and Canton for sometime and this brought American ships into Japanese waters. Along with other considerations this led to sending a second naval expedition to Japan under Commodore Perry. So, indirectly Califonia became linked with Japan at the opening of International relations. In 1853 the ships of Commodore Perry, if they cannot be said to have <u>forced</u> Japan to open her doors,

a statement to which objection is made by some, they at least so firmly insisted that Japan thought it neither diplomatic nor wise to longer refuse to acceed to the demand, and the first treaty between Japan and the United States was signed-- a treaty which says, *"There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace and sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the empire of Japan on the other, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons and places." The door was open at the behest of the United States. She has created the situation, now so difficult to deal with.

B Ecomomic Conditions in Japan Relative to Physical Environment

To appreciate the changed sentiment in regard to immigration it is necessary to consider briefly the economic condition of Japan in relation to its physical environment. The total area of Japan is somewhat less than that of California. Of this limited area only from 18% to 20% is cultivatable and this only by terracing the mountain sides to the limit of growing things. Upon this small tract practically sixty millions have to be fed. Some years ago a survey was made by the government of the country to determine whether it was possible to extend her arable land. It was determined that there was no further addition possible that could be profitably worked.

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*Pamphlet: World To-morrow, p. 179 (Quoted) 8:178-182 June '25

1. No Colonial Possessions--Density of Population

To make the situation more burdensome Japan has no colonial possessions to which her surplus population might migrate since for political reasons neither Korea nor Manchuria offer an outlet. Leaving the northern island of Hokkaido out of consideration since its topography unfits it for cultivation, the average density of population is three hundred ninety-seven to the square mile,--less than that of Holland, but greater than that of England. It can readily be seen that her soil has long since failed to supply the food stuff necessary for her increasing population. Nor do her natural resources afford her any practical aid in the solution of her problem. Of the three most essential resouces--iron, coal, and oil--she is dependent upon outside supply. There is no chance under these conditions for industry at home or commerce abroad in the products necessary for large commercial undertakings. Here lies at least a partial explanation for Japan's desire and necessity for expansion abroad. It is an urgent demand, not a national ambition for a place in the world affairs.

C. Recent Rise of Japan

*"The rise of Japan as the most forceful state in the Orient is a chapter of very recent history, of absorbing interest, and of great significance to the present age. Accomplished in the last third of the nineteenth century, it has already altered the conditions of international politics, and seems

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*Hazen, Europe Since 1815, p. 614 ff. Holt:N.Y., 1923.

likely to be a factor of increasing moment in the future evolution of the world....In the middle of the nineteenth century their state and society were thoroughly feudal, and presented many interesting points of similarity with forms long outlived in Europe.

1. Originally a Feudal State

The Mikado or Emperor, reputed to be the descendant of the gods, was the head of the nation. But while he had been formally a powerful personage, he had for two centuries and more sunk into a purely passive state. He lived in complete seclusion in his palace in Kioto, took no part in the actual government, had become in fact a figurehead, invested with a kind of religious authority or halo, so that many foreigners thought that he was not the Emperor, but a sacred ecclesiastical personage.

2. Real Authority the Shogun

The real authority was the Shogun. Reigning as a mere servant of the Mikado, he had known how to acquire from the latter, more and more power in the actual direction of affairs until he was practically the ruler. The Mikado was the nominal, the shogun the real ruler. There were thus practically two dynasties. Beneath the Shogun was the military aristocracy, the Baimios, owners of great estates, governors of provinces; and beneath them, the Samurai or class of warriors, completely armed in coats of mail, helmets and cuirasses. Such was the system that remained intact until the remarkable revolution that began in 1868. That revolution was the direct result

of the insistence of foreign nations that Japan should join with them in the ordinary relations that exist between nations."

3. Coming of Perry

For two hundred years Japan had been hermetically sealed against the outside world. This was rudely disturbed by the arrival in Japanese waters of Commodore Perry in 1853. With an American fleet he was sent to demand protection for American sailors engaged in whale fisheries in the Pacific who now and then were wrecked on the coast of Japan, and generally received cruel treatment. Perry presented these demands to the Shogun, supposing him to be the sovereign, and announced that if his demands were refused he would open hostilities. The Shogun granted certain immediate demands, but insisted that the general question of opening negotiations with a foreign state required careful consideration. Perry sailed away stating that he would return the following year for a final answer. When Perry reappeared the Shogun made a treaty with him by which two ports were to be opened to American ships. Later other and more liberal treaties were made with the United States and other countries....one result of which was the overthrow of the Shogunate and of the entire feudal system. The Mikado resented the high-handed action of the Shogun, nominally a subordinate. Later, owing to the trend of events, the Mikado and his supporters reversed their position, and became favorable to the new foreign policy.

Following the death of the Shogun and Mikado in 1866 and 1867 respectively, the Shogunate collapsed, and to the new Mikado was

restored absolute power and with this a sweeping transformation of Japan in her social and political institutions which tended to make her in these respects an European state. *"So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilization, a civilization against which every precaution of exclusion had for centuries been taken, is a change unique in the history of the world, and notable for the audacity and intelligence it displayed. The entrance upon this course was a distinct result of Perry's expedition."

D. Beginning of Japanese Migration to the U.S.

The census reports throw interesting and enlightening information concerning early Japanese migration to this country. In 1870 according to the census of that year there were fifty-five persons of that race in the country; in 1880 there were 148; in 1890 there were 2039; in 1900 the number increased to 24,326; in 1910 the total was 72,157. The rapid increase in the last two decades is unprecedented, and furnishes suggestive material for serious consideration.

The census report of 1920 gives this added information (14th census Vol. II, p. 20)

Total number of Japanese in the United States--	111,010
Native born----------	29,672
Foreign born----------	81,336

According to the 14th census (Vol. II, p. 29) the Japanese population increased between 1910 and 1920 by 53.8% (p.29). The male population over 21, however, actually decreased during this period from 56,638 in 1910 to 53,411 in 1920 for reasons which

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*Hazen, op. cit. p. 618.

will be later explained. The increase was due to the influx of Japanese women, largely the so-called "picture brides."

The attitude of California which will be considered later in this paper can be easily understood by the figures of the Fourteenth Census which reports that about two-thirds of the total number of the race in the country has settled in that state--71,952 (Census 1920, Vol.II, P.31) where they form but 2.1% of the population of the state. A study of these figures will show that the increase in Japanese population was practically negligible up to 1890. From that date the increase for each year was as follows, according to the 14th census:

1889	3,395	1894	14,382
1890	12,628	1895	11,021
1891	5,249	1896	14,243
1892	14,455	1897	30,824
1893	20,041	1898	16,415

It was the greatly increased numbers in 1900 that led to the protest of California where, as has been shown, two-thirds of the immigrants settled. Had the Japanese scattered in the other western states more widely than they did it is possible the issue would not have been taken so quickly although it was sure to arise sooner or later. In Washington and Oregon the numbers were too few to create more than feeble protest in Washington, and practically none in Oregon.

1. California Protests Coming of Japanese

Because of the outspoken opposition in California the Japanese government announced that no passports would be issued to coolies asking to go to the United States. This resulted in the reduction from 12,626 in 1900 to 4,909 in 1901(13th Census Vol.III,p.51

Even this did not satisfy certain elements in the state. Many had settled in the larger cities of the state where they came into competition with organized labor. Later when they migrated into the agricultural regions that again brought them into competition with labor which was sharper yet, as they were willing to work longer hours and for less pay. The situation was intensified by the fact that the American agriculturalist raising seasonal crops preferred the laborer who accepted the hours and pay without protest as he could more successfully gather his perishable crop with less per cent of loss to himself. The demand was made that the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 be applied to the Japanese (Immigration Commission Rep. Vol.23, p. 167). To these economic grievances were added political and racial denunciations. All manner of charges of an immoral character were made but not well substantiated. A resolution was adopted at a mass meeting, that Congress enact such measures as would lead to the total exclusion of the Japanese. Because feeling ran so high it is difficult to determine the truth of the situation which was undoubtedly created and dominated by the worst labor and political elements in the state and nation at that time.

2. Official Action of Governor of California

It was in 1905 that the first of the anti-Japanese messages was promulgated from the governor's office advocating the exclusion of the Japanese but little interest was taken in the matter by the people at large in California, until a daily paper, the San Francisco Chronicle, subsidized by labor, began a campaign against the Japanese. Again the Japanese Government showed its good will by suspending temporarily all immigration to Hawaii.

Against this agitation David Starr Jordan of Stanford University protested, as did President Eliot of Harvard who protested against the "insolence of excluding the Japanese because of inferiority." The fruit growers of San Joaquin and Santa Clara valleys claimed that such exclusion would make impossible the harvesting of crops. The movement was plainly a labor and political one in origin and effort. The Exclusion League insistently and doggedly pushed the matter, until California congressmen consented to introduce exclusion bills into the coming Congress, meeting in the fall of 1895.

3. President Roosevelt's Attitude

President Roosevelt, always a factor to be reckoned with, was strongly opposed at this time to any such plan. In his annual message December 5, 1905, he strongly advocated a non-discrimnatory policy which would not shut out a single person on account of race, color, or creed. The congressmen from California who waited upon him did not find a cordial reception. As they presented the proposed plan of legislation he is reported to have been greatly enraged. *"What on earth do you Californians mean by introducing such a bill" he exclaimed. "Didn't you know such a thing is preposterous? With our great trade in the orient, and our peculiar relations with those countries, and with our solemn treaty with Japan (1894) which is the supreme law of the land! Do you suppose I would violate a treaty like that and affront Japan? I would veto it if it were passed unanimously."

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*Buell, Political Science Quarterly, December, 1922. 37:605-638.

It is maintained by those familiar with international law that President Roosevelt was in error in his interpretation of the treaty of 1894 (EX I) the last paragraph of which--Art.II--distinctly states that the provisions of the treaty should not *"in any way affect the laws, ordinances, or regulations with regard to trade, the immigration of laborers, police and public security which are in force, or which may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries." Moreover the treaty was not the "supreme law of the land." Notwithstanding these errors of interpretation the President had made his position clear beyond the possibility of mistake and given the California congressmen a genuine shake up. Exclusion seemed to be dead for the immediate future.

The stand of the federal government was such at this time that the Japs still continued to come in considerable numbers. Had not the fearful earthquake and consequent fire in San Francisco destroyed such an unprecedented amount of property with result in great loss of life, occurred at this time the Exclusion League would have undoubtedly pushed its plans vigorously in spite of the opposition of the President. Whatever else may be said of the Japanese they are not a vindictive or even resentful race. In this greatest disaster which has seldom been equalled in the history of any city the Japanese contributed through the Red Cross the sum of $250,000 for relief.

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*Buell, Political Science Quarterly, December 1927. 37:605-38

E. Action of San Francisco School Board

It happened in 1905 that the element that controlled the Exclusion League controlled also the municipal government of San Francisco. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the government of New York City under Boss Tweed at its worst did not surpass the municipal control of San Francisco at this time. The details of the political situation, while pertinent to the question of Japanese exclusion cannot be entered into here further than to repeat what has already been stated that the situation was political, and largely dominated by the labor element. The Board of Education in San Francisco in May 1905 passed a resolution declaring its intention of setting up separate schools for Chinese and Japanese pupils, but action was deferred until the following year, when the order was passed.

1. Uncalled for Move

Much fuel was added to the fire by this action. The schools were not overcrowded. There had been no request on the part of parents or teachers for this action, and the quarters provided were objectionable. Against this state of affairs the Japanese protested violently, and to their own government. And here the school question became an international issue. The Japanese government lodged its protest at Washington through a cablegram sent to Secretary Root by the United States embassy at Tokyo. Secretary Root made definite the position of the United States government in his reply that *"The United States will not for a

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*Buell, Political Science Quarterly, Vol.38:57-81 Dec. '22

moment entertain the idea of any treatment of the Japanese people other than that accorded to the people of the most friendly European nation." The issue was fairly joined.

2. Conflict between National and State Authority

Here it is that the conflicting powers of state and national governments are manifest. Japan and the United States were friendly powers. Could the action of an individual state disturb these relations? At this juncture the United States was emphatic. It could not. Unfortunately the promise of the government was not faithfully kept. Had it been, the course of events would no doubt have been different. How foolish and ill-considered was the action of the school board is attested by the fact that there were but 93 Japanese out of 25,000 school children in the city, and there was no justification for such action as the leading educators of the state, including Presidents Jordan of Stanford University and Wheeler of the University of California asserted. It was purely a labor and political move. The outcome of the situation was a conference of Washington between the mayor of San Francisco and members of the school board, with the President, who asserted strongly that the federal government was charged exclusively with the conduct of foreign relations and it would tolerate no interference on the part of a state which impaired that function. The solution agreed upon was (1) the school board was to rescind the resolution ordering Japanese children to attend separate schools; (2) that the president would stop all emigration from Canada, Mexico and Hawaii to the United States on passports issued by Japan only to these places;

(3) that by diplomatic means the United States would attempt to restrict direct immigration from Japan to the United States. As will be seen this was a compromise measure, favorable chiefly to the interests of California from the political point of view, or more accurately from the point of view of the politician of that state.

F. Gentlemen's Agreement

In 1907 the immigration from Japan was 30,226 as against 14,243 in 1906* more than double that of the previous year. This caused great uneasiness along the Pacific coast, quite unwarranted by the small percent of Japanese in the total population.

According to the second clause of the agreement the immigration Act of February 20, 1907 was issued in which the president was authorized to refuse entrance to such immigrants who to gain admission to continental America were using passports issued "to any country other than the United States." Under this authority the President issued the proclamation of March 14, 1907 which ordered the "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom, be refused permission to enter the continental territory of the United States."** There was a revision of this statute in 1913 so as to avoid the use of the phrase "Japanese or Korean" but to bar all "such alien laborers." The meaning was evident however. This same act of 1907 also authorized the President to enter into "such international agreements

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*Immigration Report, Vol.23, p.8, 1907
**Statutes 898, Chap. 1134, sec.1, 1908

as may be proper to prevent the immigration of aliens who, under the laws of the United States are or may be excluded from entering the United States, and of regulating matters pertaining to such immigration." Under the somewhat indefinite authority of this act President Roosevelt entered into the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907-08, an agreement according to which the immigration of Japanese to the United States was left in the hands of the Japanese Government which agreed to issue no passports to the laboring class. The Japanese maintain that they scrupulously kept faith with the United States according to the letter and spirit of this agreement. There is no trustworthy evidence to the contrary, though California protested.

1. Economic Basis for Anti-Japanese Immigration

Before undertaking a discussion of this agreement it may be said here that there has no doubt been a real economic basis for the early beginnings of anti-Japanese agitation in California, and to an extent in the other coastal and western states. Thousands of Japanese had come into these states; they had competed with native labor successfully because they worked harder and for longer hours. Hence they were more valuable help for the agriculturalist. No one questions that in those early days their standards of living <u>were</u> lower than those of the American laborers. The report of the Immigration Commission (Vol.23,pp.137-138) states that their standards were "lower than those of the northern European immigrant but probably no lower than those of the south and central European." This, in a way, was as much their misfortune as their fault since they were shunned as were the Chinese before them and in many instances forced to occupy the

discarded shacks of the Chinese for lack of better living conditions, and surroundings. Then, too, they were ignorant of American customs of living which often led to unpleasant and questionable situations. Again, they like their predecessors, the Chinese, were easily exploited by contractors since they had a tendency to live in groups, which made under-bidding easy. This brought to the fore front the labor and political question. The Gentlemen's Agreement, as noted above, authorized the President to undertake immigration agreements with Japan; the agreement entered into, was not technically a treaty as such which would, under constitutional provision have to be submitted to the senate for approval, but was what is frequently alluded to as an "executive agreement" made by the President by virtue of his power to control foreign relations. It was more of the nature of a private arrangement made by the President acting through the State Department, and the government of Japan. Its full terms were never made public. When members of Congress sought to secure copies they were denied. This created misgivings and suspicions. It was given out by the Department of State that the Japanese Government was not willing to have the original correspondence and documents made public. This gave the impression in Congress that the "Agreement" was a secret arrangement having features inimical to American interests.* Mr. Hanihara, the ambassador from Japan to this government states in regard to the "Agreement" that it was entered into after a frank and friendly discussion between the two govern-

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*Reestablishment of Right Relations with Japan, pp. 19-20 Gulick, S.L. Pamphlet. Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America N.Y., 1924.

ments "because of the fact that discriminatory immigration legislation on the part of the United States would naturally wound the national susceptibilities of the Japanese people" and it was "made for the purpose of relieving the United States from the possible unfortunate necessity of offending the natural pride of a friendly people."* It was not intended in any sense as a restriction on the United States government to regulate its own immigration.

2. Terms of the Agreement

The terms of this Agreement are, briefly stated, as follows:

FIRST: Japan will of her own accord refrain from issuing passports to Japanese laborers desiring to enter territories adjacent to continental United States such as Mexico or Canada.

SECOND: Japan will recognize the right of the United States to refuse the admission to continental United States of Japanese of the laboring class whose passports do not include continental United States.

THIRD: Japan will issue passports to continental United States only to Japanese of the following four classes; (1) Non-laborers, such as travellers, business men, financiers; (2) Japanese, laborer or non-laborer, who have already become domiciled in the United States; (3) Parents, wives or children of Japanese who have become domiciled in the United States; (4) Japanese who have acquired farming interests in the continental United States and wish to return there.**

This "Gentlemen's Agreement" was in operation fifteen years. A consideration of the numerical results of admissions and departures as compiled by office of the Commissioner General for these years shows some interesting and significant results. (Rep. of Com. Gen. 1921, p. 142)

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*The Hanihara note to Secretary Hughes, April 10, 1924
**Buell, Japanese Immigration, p. 288, Vol.7. World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.

Total number of men admitted for these years
according to Agreement----------120,317
Total number departing for these years--------111,636
Net increase for these years---------- 8,681

These figures pertain to the United States alone. If Hawaii is considered the figures would be as follows:

Total number admitted to U. S. and Hawaii
for these years----------171,584
Total number departing for the given time-----155,488
Net increase for the given time---------- 16,096

This makes a net gain for continental United States of 8,681 and for Hawaii of 7,415 for all classes included in the Agreement. If men alone are considered, the situation shows an entirely different aspect, as follows:

Total number of men admitted to U. S.
and Hawaii----------97,977
Total number of men departing--------120,614
Net decrease of men in the period---- 22,737

When women alone are considered for the same period the result is

Total number admitted to United States and
Hawaii----------73,707
Total number of women departing----------34,874
Total increase for the given time----------38,833

These figures form an interesting study. They show that under the Agreement there was an actual gain in Japanese immigration of 16,096 including both men and women; that there was a decrease in the male population of 22,735; and an increase of females of 38,833.

(a) Results Unsatisfactory to the West

To the western states this was proof conclusive that the Gentlemen's Agreement was not a satisfactory solution of the problem. It made little difference that the male population had decreased so long as those men were legally here, and according to their view were a "menace" to the welfare of the

West. A contention which, from their point of view cannot be gainsaid.

From the adoption of the Agreement in 1907 California particularly had been opposed to it on several grounds. They felt that the United States had surrendered the control of the problem to the Orient, to the Japanese themselves which was in a measure true.

G. California's Case

The legislature of California was in session while the Agreement was under consideration, and it did not hesitate to voice its hostile attitude. It gave expression to its hostility by a vote in the state senate denying to aliens "ineligible to citizenship" the right to hold land by a vote of 29 to 3.* The Exclusion League, always prejudiced, was not in the least interested to give the Agreement a trial; it had no faith in the "honor" of the Japanese Government, and it was especially opposed to it not only on the ground of surrendering a sovereign right, but as much so on the ground that it made no provision relative to the Japanese population already in California. That point had been entirely ignored and any understanding which left that out of consideration could not be satisfactory.

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the efficiency of the Agreement. Governor Stephens speaking for the people of his state declared it most unsatisfactory. He maintained that the population of the state had steadily increased under its provisions; that there had been much unlawful entry into the state from Mexico which it was powerless to prevent.** It is not denied that there was truth in his assertions. On the other hand government officials frequently declared that the"Gen-

*Buell, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 38, p. 60. March, 1923.
**Buell, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 38, p. 293. Mar. 1923.

here. A contention which, from their point of view cannot be gainsaid.

Japan has adhered to the agreement in a fair particularly, considerably had been accorded to it on several grounds. They said that the United States had surrendered the control of immigration to the Japanese, in the Japanese treaty which was in a measure true.

D. California's Case

The legislature of California was in session while the agreement was under consideration, and it did not hesitate to voice its hostile attitude. It gave expression to its hostility by a vote in the state senate enough to allow "ineligible to citizenship" the right to hold land by a vote of 29 to 2. The assembly also passed, always precipitous, was not in the least interested in the agreement a trial; it had no faith in the "honor" of the Japanese Government, and it was emphatically opposed to it not only on the ground of surrendering a sovereign right, but as such to the ground that it made no provision relative to the Japanese population already in California. That point had been vitally ignored and any understanding which left that out of consideration could not be satisfactory.

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the efficiency of the Agreement. Governor Stephens speaking for the people of his state declared it most unsatisfactory. He maintained that the population of the state had steadily increased under its provisions; that there had been some colonist entry into the state from Asiatic nations and considerable to prevent it he not doubted that there was fraud in the operations. On the other hand government officials frequently declared that there

tlemen's Agreement" was a satisfactory methos of limiting immigration. In 1910 the Commissioner of Labor in Hawaii reported that it had stopped the influx of Japanese labor there.*

1. Agreement Defended

In 1916 the Agreement was defended by Secretary of Labor Wilson in a letter to Senator Phelan of California, a violent anti-Japanese agitator. And Honorable William Phelps, acting Secretary of State in 1919 in a letter to Senator Phelan said the Agreement **"was working with a fair degree of satisfaction." ***Secretary Hughes also defended the measure in his letter to the House Committee in April 1924. As might be anticipated Ambassador Hanihara vehemently protested that his government "has most faithfully observed the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in every detail of its terms." In support of this contention he cites the figures of the United States Commissioner General for the fifteen years the Agreement was in operation which show that the net increase for all those years was only 8,631, which number includes merchants, students, tourists and others to whom the Agreement has no reference.

The question seems to resolve itself into that of one's point of view, each side proving by its figures the truth of its contention. There is no doubt but what the people of California had somewhat of which to be afraid. The Japanese had acquired by purchase and lease some land which constituted only one half of

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*Buell, Japanese Immigration, p. 292.
**Buell, Japanese Immigration, Vol. 5, p. 293, 1919. World's Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.
***Stephens, W. D. California and the Orient, p. 142. San Fran. 1922.

one per cent of the total land area of the state and 1.6% of the farm land of the state, surely not enough to cause the "hue and cry" raised by a certain element. As a matter of fact the Japs were born agriculturists and by enormous labor had transformed some of the least unproductive and apparently worthless lands which had in some cases been abandoned by American labor, into the most fruitful and productive areas of the entire state. This has been accomplished at much less expense than the American farmer could do it as the entire Japanese family, wife, and children worked long hours in the fields so no additional cost was imposed as must be the case in native labor under the same conditions. Thus by their skill, their thrift, their industry, they were able to produce more at less expense than their American competitor. It is not the vices so much as their virtues that is the ground of complaint against them. In a word they are too efficient. It should be kept in mind that they formed but slightly over two per cent of the population at this time, and that their land holdings were proportionally small.

2. Land Law Passed for Protection

To limit the ownership of land by the Japanese the California legislature passed a law in 1913 giving aliens ineligible to citizenship all rights to real property granted by treaty arrangement but no other except the right to lease land for three years. As a result of this law they could not acquire agricultural land. In 1920 an initiative measure of greater severity was enacted which prohibited leases and all other interests in real property. As a result of these laws they were deprived of the use of more than 300,000 acres of land which they had held by some arrangement

other than ownership. Califonia's action at this time began to bear fruit of similar nature in other western states--Arizona, Texas, and Washington which up to this time had taken almost no action. California persistently continued her agitation for restricted immigration.

3. Governor Stephens Advocates an Exclusion Act.

In 1919 she urged federal action. In 1920 the State Board of Control made a report under the title of California and the Oriental in which Governor W. D. Stephens presented the question to Secretary of State Colby in part as follows: *"Inasmuch as I am seeking on the part of the people of California to deal with this problem in a broad and final way, I deem it proper to advise you further that we feel that the full solution of this question cannot be had short of an exclusion act passed by Congress....The exclusion act should, in my opinion, provide for the full exclusion of all Japanese, saving certain selected classes: it should further provide for the registration of all Japanese lawfully within the United States at the time that the act is passed; and further provide that the burden should be upon every Japanese within this county of proving his right to be here by the production of a certificate of registration. In this manner only do I believe the complete effective remedies can be found....Let me say in submitting this report and transmitting this letter with its recommendation, the people of California only desire to retain the common wealth of California for its own people; they

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*Stephens, op. cit. California and the Orient.

recognize the impossibility of that peace-producing assimilability which comes only when races are so closely akin that intermarriage within a generation or two obliterates original lines. The thought of such relationship is impossible to the people of California....California is making this appeal primarily, of course, for herself, but in so doing she feels that the problem solely because of her geographical position on the Pacific slope. She stands as one of the gateways for Oriental immigration into this country. Her people are first affected, and unless the race ideals and standards are preserved here at the national gateway the conditions that will follow must soon affect the rest of the continent." This extract from the report of Governor Stephens definitely outlines the attitude of the politicians of the states, and explains the enactment of the resolutions of the state legislature in April 1921 further urging the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship.*

"Ever since about 1911," writes W. W. Husband, Commissioner General of Immigration, "general immigration bills have contained a clause barring immigrants ineligible to citizenship."** Against such discrimination Japan has always emphatically and vigorously protested. It was because of such protest that this phrase so objectionable to them was dropped and the act as finally submitted omitted all reference to aliens ineligible to citizenship, and other reading more acceptable to Japan was substituted. The Japanese are a proud and sensitive people and particularly object to being classed with those whom she feels have not taken the part

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*California Statutes, April, 1921 p. 1774 Sacramento, Calif.
** Jenks, J. and Lauk, W. The Immigration Problem, p. 434 Funk and Wagnalls Co., N.Y. 1921.

in world affairs to which her participation in them entitles her. As a matter of fact Japan is the only Oriental country to be recognized as such by her part as one of the principal allied powers, by her membership in the Council of the League of Nations, and as a party to the "Four-Power Treaty" of the Pacific. Naturally she resents any discrimination especially on the part of the United States whose friendship she highly values.

H. Exclusion Act of 1924

There is little doubt but that the long-continued agitation in California led to the passage of the Exclusion Act of 1924. In March of that year The House Committee on Immigration reported a bill, section 12 (b) of which provided that no "alien ineligible to citizenship" shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien is (1) admissible as a non-quota emmigrant or (2) the wife or unmarried child of an immigrant admissible under the conditions stated. Under the conditions of the bill the only persons admitted were those returning from a temporary visit abroad, merchants, ministers, university professors and bona fide students. Notwithstanding vigorous protests from influential Americans, including Secretary Hughes quite evidently backed by President Coolidge, to whose protests were added that of Ambassador Hanihara the bill was adopted April 12, 1924.

1. Results of and Opinions Concerning it.

The exclusion clause of the Immigration Act of 1924 abrogated in an abrupt and discourteous manner the agreement, thereby causing an intense feeling of indignation and resentment on the part of the Japanese. This legislation was in direct response to the appeal of California, Washington and other western states, which were incited to themselves legislate in a discriminatory manner

against Asiatics, by a wave of race prejudice and hysteria entirely unwarranted by facts.

The spectre of Japanese invasion was conjured up by real estate investors holding land in Lower California. President Jordan of Leland Stanford University says, "the whole situation was a creation of the Hearst newspapers." The Honorable Cyrus Woods, American Ambassador to Japan from the United States, August 1923 to June 1924, in describing the situation said *The Japanese Exclusion Act was, in my judgment, an international disaster of the first magnitude--a disaster to American diplomacy in the far East, a disaster to American business, a disaster to religion, and to the effective work of our American churches in Japan." He then goes on to say that "It was as though the Good Samaritan in the New Testament Parable, after delivering the wounded and bleeding traveler to the inn-keeper with a gift for his keep, had suddenly drawn off, doubled up his fist, and planted a stunning blow in the face of the man he had just succored. Japan was bewildered, disappointed, dismayed and indignant." Secretary of State Hughes, anticipating the effect of denying admission to the United States of aliens ineligible to citizenship, declared that "the action would largely undo the work of the Washington Conference on the Limitations of Armament which so greatly improved our relations with Japan," and he further adds that the manifestation of American interest

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*Gulick, S. L. Reestablishment of Right Relations between America and Japan, June 1924. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. N. Y.

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The problem of Japanese immigration was complicated by local estate investors holding land in Lower California. President Jordan of Leland Stanford University says, "The whole situation was a creation of the Santa Fe Railroad." The Honorable Kyuzo Toda, American Ambassador to Japan from the United States, August 1923 to June 1924, in describing the situation said "The Japanese Exclusion Act was, in my judgment, an international disaster of the first magnitude--a disaster to American diplomacy in the Far East, a disaster to American business, a disaster to religion, and to the effective work of our American churches in Japan." He then goes on to say that "It was as though the Good Samaritan in the New Testament parable, after delivering the wounded man bleeding traveler to the inn-keeper with a gift for his care, had roughly drawn off, doubled up his fist, and planted a stunning blow in the face of the man he had just succored. Japan was humiliated, disorientated, disgusted and indignant." Secretary of State Hughes, anticipating the effect of denying admission to the United States of aliens ineligible to citizenship, believed that "the action would largely undo the work of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament which so greatly improved our relations with Japan." He further adds that the modification of American interest

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* Miller, . . . Development of Japan Relations . . . Yale University Press, 1926.
and Japan, June 1924. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. N. Y.

and generosity in providing relief to the sufferers from the recent earthquake disaster in Japan would not avail to diminish the resentment which would follow the enactment of such a measure, as this enactment would be regarded as an insult not to be palliated by any act of charity."

(a) Ambassador Hanahara's Protest

Ambassador Hanhara sent a strong yet well-restrained protest to the State Department an excerpt from which is here quoted:

> ....As I have represented to you on former occasions the mere fact that a certain clause, obviously aimed against Japan as a nation, is introduced in the proposed immigration bill, in apparent disregard of the most sincere and friendly endeavors on the part of the Japanese Government to meet the needs and wishes of the American Government and people, is mortifying enough to the Government and people of Japan. They are, however, exercising the utmost forbearance at this moment, and in so doing they confidently rely upon the high sense of justice and fair-play of the American Government and people, which, when properly approached, will readily understand why no such discriminatory provision as above referred to should be allowed to become a part of the law of the land.
>
> It is needless to add that it is not the intention of the Japanese Government to question the sovereign right of any country to regulate immigration to its own territory. Nor is it their desire to send their nationals to a country where they are not wanted. On the contrary the Japanese Government showed from the very beginning of this problem their perfect willingness to co-operate with the United States Government to effectively prevent by all honorable means the entrance into the United States of such Japanese nationals as are not desired by the United States, and have given ample evidence thereof, the facts of which are well-known to your Government. To Japan the question is not one of expediency, but of principle. To her the mere fact that a few hundreds or thousands of her nationals will or will not be admitted into the domains of other countries is immaterial, so long as no question of national susceptabilities is involved. The important question is whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations. In other words the

Japanese Government asks of the United States Government simply the proper consideration ordinarily given by one nation to the self-respect of another which after all forms the basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilized world.

It is indeed impossible for my government and people, and I believe it would be impossible for your Government and for those of your people who had made a careful study of the subject, to understand why it should be necessary for your country to enact as the law of the land such a clause as Section 12 (b) of the House Immigration Bill... The manifest object of the said Section 12 (b) is to single out Japanese as a nation stigmatizing them as unworthy and undesirable in the eyes of the American people. And yet the result of that particular provision, if the proposed bill becomes a law as intended, would be to exclude only 146 Japanese per year....

Relying upon the confidence you have been good enough to show me at all times, I have stated, or rather repeated all this to you very candidly and in a most friendly spirit, for I realize, as I believe you do, the grave consequences which the enactment of the measure containing that particular provision would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations between our two countries.

(Signed) M. Hanihara.

Honorable Charles E. Hughes,
Secretary of State.

2. Attitude of the U. S.

This protest was discussed on April 14 in "executive session" in the senate, the discussion being led by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts who as usual led the opposition on the ground that the letter contained a "veiled threat" against the United States. Reference to the words "grave consequences" in the Hanihara letter furnished the ground of the charge, a charge which Ambassador Hanihara vigorously denied, and which the majority of those familiar with the circumstances did not accept. It is noticeable that a western senator outspokenly defended the letter in the discussion upon the matter.

*"If we are going to exclude the Japanese immigrants," he said, "let us exclude them because it is the wholesome thing, the right thing, the just thing to do for the American people and let us not make the letter of the Japanese Ambassador the pretext for our action"....He pointed out that the Japanese Ambassador had expressly recognized the sovereign right of the United States to exclude immigrants. It is needless to follow the discussion in Congress over the matter which provoked much feeling on both sides. The final outcome was that the bill passed to become effective July 1, 1924.

3. Comparison of Gentlemen's Agreement with Exclusion Act.

This exclusion law differed from the Gentlemen's Agreement in three respects: (1) it was a discriminatory measure directed against Japan; (2) it transferred the administration of exclusion from Japan to the United States; (3) it imposed more stringent restrictions than did the Agreement. The Agreement admitted non-laborers and relatives of laborers and laborers returning from abroad. The Exclusion Law shuts all "aliens ineligible to citizenship" with the exceptions noted above. No Japanese already a resident, no matter how long he may have lived in America, no matter what may be his occupation or the business he may be engaged in is permitted by the terms of this bill to bring to this country for permanent residence his parents, wife, or children. Japan simply could not understand the situation. Since the day that Commodore Perry knocked at her doors the relations of the United States with Japan have been not merely cordial and friend-

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*Quoted by William D. Wheelock in Disapproving Anti-Japanese Legislation. Privately Printed. Pamphlet 1920. San Fran. Calif.

ly--they had been almost ideal. She had appreciated our disinterestedness in matters educational, religious, and commercial since our policy in the East had never been otherwise than open and above board so far as she was concerned.

4. Permanency of Exclusion Law and Distribution of Immigration

There is nothing temporary in the wording of the new immigration law adopting the national origins formula for immigration control. Debates on the floors of Congress indicated plainly that the legislators felt they were establishing a permanent immigration policy to be followed for many years to come. With the exception of a comparatively few representatives from urban centers containing large settlements of the foreign-born, both the Senate and the House of Representatives were practically unanimous in indorsing the principle of numerical restriction. Under the national origins formula, the distribution of this immigration total among the various quota classifications becomes merely an administrative function of the Executive Branch of the Government, each nation already having contributed a certain percentage to the American people will be allotted a corresponding percentage of the immigration total as its quota. In other words, the American people are taken as they stand, and to them each year is added, in whatever number Congress may direct, an installment of European immigration reproducing in miniature the American Composite.

(a) Quotas National, not Racial

All the quotas are national, not racial. No attempt is made to discriminate between the various racial groups within any nation. Each nation is allowed a fixed quota covering all who re-

side within its jurisdiction. Under the emergency law of 1921, for example, the quota for Turkey was 2,654 each year. In a typical year, only 158 of the alien admissions charged against the Turkish quota were actually Turks. The point was that all came from territory under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Government. Similar conditions prevail under the national origins formula, for the United States cannot presume to discriminate between the various peoples within the boundaries of a sovereign nation. The underlying principle of the national origins formula is that the people of the United States today have a vested and equal right to say who shall join them. While the emergency law of 1921 permitted the foreign-born residents of the United States to determine the distribution of immigration quotas, the national origins formula gives equal voice to native-born and foreign-born alike. The nationalities in proportion as they have contributed to the upbuilding of the American Republic, with the exception of the Japanese and Orientals who are a negligible factor.

5. Basis of Exclusion

When the United States first undertook to curtail the flow of immigration, the problem of finding a reasonable formula upon which to base the fair distribution of quotas among the various nationalities affected, immediately presented itself. The problem was a most troublesome one, complicated by political considerations at home and by diplomatic difficulties abroad. The first actual move to curtail immigration numerically was the emergency quota law of May 19, 1921, restricting the admission of aliens in any year to 3% of the number of foreign-born persons of each nationality residing in the United States according

to the census of 1910. In other words, there being approximately 1,401,900 persons of Italian birth resident in the United States according to the census of 1910, Italy was entitled to 3% of that figure, or 42,057 immigrants, to the United States each year. It is difficult to justify this formula for restriction upon any basis save that of sheer expediency. There is no particular reason why the number of foreign-born of any one nationality should determine how many more that nation might send to American shores. The argument that, because so many had come in recent years, a proportionate number should be admitted in future years, is too far-fetched to be worthy of serious consideration. The history of American immigration is a story of successive waves from various sections of the Old World. Later legislation fixed quota at 2% of residents in 1900.

For some time there has been in process in Japan a boycott of goods inported from the United States, in retaliation for the action of our Congress in the passage of the immigration law. Although Japanese statesmen very generally resent the enactment of this law, the boycotting movement seems to lack substantial or enthusiastic support.

6. Public Opinion Concerning Exclusion

Since the debate in the House, the reaction throughout the country has indicated in no uncertain way that public opinion is strongly in favor of excluding Orientals who come with the intention of colonizing or making their homes here for a long period. The immigration of Oriental aliens, and their rapid multiplication, is becoming a serious menace to living conditions, particularly on the Pacific Coast, and to the future of the

in the census of 1910. In each case, there being correspondingly 1,401,000 persons of Italian birth resident in the United States according to the census of 1920, Italy was entitled to 34 of that figure, or 42,787 immigrants, to the United States each year. It is difficult to qualify this formula for restriction more by legislative use than of sheer expediency. There is no satisfactory reason why the number of foreign-born of any one nationality should determine how many more that nation might send to America annually. The argument that, because so many had come in recent years, a proportionate number should be admitted in future years, is too far-fetched to be worthy of serious consideration. The history of American immigration is a story of successive waves from various nationals of the old World. Later legislation fixed quotas at 3% of residents in 1890.

It was also time where has been in process in Japan a boycott of goods imported from the United States, in retaliation for the action of our Congress in the passage of the immigration law. Although Japanese statesmen very generally regard the enactment of this law, the provoking measures seem to have substantial or extensive support.

E. Asiatic Opinion Concerning Exclusion

Since the events in the Hague, the executive throughout the country has indicated in no uncertain way that public opinion is strongly in favor of excluding Orientals who come with the intention of remaining or making their home here for a long period. The institution of criminal alien, and illegal registrations, is causing a serious concern in Asiatic quarters, particularly on the Pacific Coast, and to the future of the

country in general, and the Government should indeed take action with a view to securing the exclusion of future immigration of this type. Members, regardless of party were in accord about what should be done, and they declared for a policy excluding further Oriental immigration. All of them spoke of the indifference with which the East had regarded the whole question. Using official statistics, they quoted figures of Oriental population showing that white folk are being rapidly ejected from control in many large industries, such as fisheries, lumbering, fruit farming, and market gardening, together with a large section of the retail business. Every member expressed fear as to the future, and appealed to the East for assistance in keeping the Pacific province a white man's country. The situation constitutes a conflict between theoretical international justice and stubborn internal economic and social facts. Immigration is a question to be settled by each country for itself. The Oriental is so distinct and so different from the native population that assimilation is seemingly impossible. Free admission of the Oriental means to many a lowering of the standard of living. The right policy is the exclusion of Asiatic laborers as permanent residents, absolute opposition to indentured labor, and fair treatment to those properly admitted under the laws. *"There was a silent and steady absorption of the business of California by the Oriental, particularly the Jap, who is the incarnation of commercial aggressiveness. The Oriental is never a pioneer but follows others, and beats them because he can afford to do it with his cheap labor

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*Annual Reports of Commissioner General of Immigration 1918.

and terrible industry. If you gave over California by treaty to Japan tomorrow, there would be a general rising in the State to the last man and the last dollar, but unless we deal with this problem now we will be giving away California just as wholly and completely as if by treaty."

We express admiration for the fine qualities of the Japanese, and the opinion that immigration must be stopped without diplomatic processes. The white man is allowed no privileges in Japan such as the Jap is allowed. If the Japs were allowed free entry they would drive all whites out. The question is one of great national importance rather than of purely provincial interest. *"It is, first and foremost, an economic issue. Every country should have the right to control the composition of its population." Although in considering population the Oriental does not figure largely in either Canada or the United States, the question is a very serious one. No person could visit California without being alarmed at the conditions existing there. The Oriental race is so different from the white that there is no possibility of industrial competition and assimilation is admittedly out of the question. The gain in birth ratio by the Orientals compared with the whites in 1910 was* two hundred and fifty whites as against one Oriental; but in 1921 there were only 17 whites as against one Oriental. We could see nothing but exclusion of the Oriental.

I. Japanese Ambition

The Japanese are preeminently ambitious. A large section of

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*Japanese and the Pacific Coast, Ryder, R. W., in North American Review 213, 1:1-15.

the country has a passion for progress. Its conceit is not without reason. It is due to her history--and when its history shall be written a hundred years from now--who knows what PROGRESS shall spell for the Hermit Nation of old? Japan is no longer a State depending solely, as she did for centuries, on her agricultural resources but in manufactures and industries has already taken a considerable place amongst the nations of the world. Silk is the chief staple of export, the best qualities coming from the provinces of Shinshu, Kotshuka, and Kishu. Numerous filatures are now worked by imported machinery. Tea ranks next in importance. It finds its principal markets in Canada and in the United States, where it is used for mixing with other varieties.

1. Land and Sea Trade

The United Kingdom and dependencies share to the extent of nearly half in the total foreign trade. Numerous steamship companies provide for an extensive coasting trade. The largest of these also runs vessels regularly to China, India, Europe and America. The native junk with its hugh square sail still forms a picturesque feature, both on the coast and larger rivers. The first line of railway, 18 miles in length, connecting Yokohoma with the capital, was opened in 1872, and in 1898 a well-equipped system existed of over 3,000 miles, with many new lines on course of construction. The trunk line will ultimately join Aomori, in the extreme north of the main island, with Kagoshima, in the south of Kyushu. Two branches cross the country from east to west, and from Tokyo and to Niigata, and the other from Kyoto to Kanazawa, plain in which the capital lies. In districts still unprovided with railway communication, the jinrikisha re-

mains the chief mode of conveyance. An admirable post and telegraph system, together with telephone exchanges in all the larger towns, adds to the convenience of internal communications. The wheat crop is equal to about one-tenth of her rice crop, or the wheat crop of Ohio. There is much interest over the discovery that there is room for the extension of wheat growing in the sparsely peopled north end of the Japanese Empire. Sakhalien, for example, long considered hopeless, is now thought to have winter wheat possibilities.

The Japanese are credited with eating more fish than any other people in the world. Two reasons account for this. One is an almost entire absence of the meat animals in Japan, and the other is the abundance of fish in the waters surrounding the country, which happens to be composed entirely of islands, thus tempting its people to go to sea. Yezo, one of the northernmost of the four large islands of Japan, is too cold for rice growing, much of it is too rough for any other kind of agriculture, so, its people like those of Norway and Newfoundland, have depended almost entirely upon the catch of cod, herring, and other fish of the north temperature latitudes. The only other industries of Yezo are the coal, which does not depend upon climate, and the lumber, which grows upon the cool mountains as it does in Norway, Sweden and Newfoundland.

2. Acquired Territory and Colonies

As the Japanese realized that they must become like England and live by manufacturing, they appreciated the importance to themselves of Korea and Manchuria. They had long imported from these quarters beans, bean oil, and bean cake (for fertilizer),

and the trade with these regions promised to be of increasing importance as the country went over to the factory and commercial basis. Korea had unused rice and barley land, promising materials, and good forests. In Manchuria, corresponding to our upper Mississippi valley and part of the Canadian Northwest, is the finest stretch of unused farm land in the Mongolian world. Manchuria has also forests, coal and other minerals. These regions would furnish Japan with food, take her manufactures and the thronging emigrants, and would put her in an independent position resembling that of China and the United States.

Japan, like the United States, was very late in having any desire for colonies. Japan had at first to abandon the domestic stem before she realized any need for markets and colonies, but she then needed them more acutely than any other nation ever needed them, and she accordingly changed her policy with the most astonishing rapidity. In a very short time she became possessed of colonies, the desire for which is a psychological and political response to the economic fact that a nation has emigrated people who need homes or manufactures for which she desires markets, or both.

3. Intellectual Attainment

The Japanese will excel in the future in many directions, but the freest development may be expected in those activities for which racial and social experiences has prepared the intellect. A strong but selective realism in literature, delicate word-painting, the successful search for mastery over the forces of nature, a grasp of social and political relationships--these are among the things we may expect from Japan of the future. At present all is still in the turmoil and uncertainty of a tremendous struggle of

and the trade with these regions promises to be of increasing importance as its country goes over on the industry and commercial basis. Korea has unused iron and copper land, producing materials, and good forests. In Manchuria, corresponding to our upper Mississippi valley and part of the Canadian Northwest, is the finest acreage of unused land in the hemisphere. Manchuria has also forests, coal and other minerals. These regions would furnish Japan with food, raw materials and the strategic defensive, and would put her in an independent position rekindling that of China and the United States.

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3. Intelligent Aiming

The dangers will avoid in the future in many directions, but the Pacific problems may be expected in those activities for which racial and moral experience has prepared the nations. A strong but selective feeling in literature, dramatic and musical, the developed method for power over the forces of nature, a sense of moral and political relationship—these are some the things we may expect from Japan of the future. As present Japan is still in the school and apprentice of a tremendous structure of

opposing forces from which only gradually there is emerging the mind and spirit of Modern Japan.

4. Ambition of Japanese Press for Freedom of Speech

*The Japanese press has often permitted itself a display of irritation against the Anglo-Saxon world. Nothing could be more erroneous than the inference that these demonstrations reflect any real hostility to either England or America. It chances that the Anglo-Saxon world is too often the most convenient target whenever the newspapers of the Mikado's empire indulge in one of their regular frays with the haughty clans dominating the navy, the war office and the department of international affairs. For the moment, the whole press of Japan is in revolt against oppressions and censorships of which it has long complained. The contest is likely to be characterized by comment which may surprise America and England, yet it need not be taken too seriously.

J. Japanese Commercialism

Turning to the commercial point of view consider what the purchase of $464,000,000 worth of goods means to the American workman. Eighty per cent of every dollar's worth of goods shipped to Japan finds its way directly into the pockets of the workmen. This means that Japan's purchases each year maintains an employed army of 204,430 men for the full year at a daily wage of $6. In other words, purchases by Japan give employment to almost twice as many Americans as there are Japanese in this country, including women and children. The Japanese are not crowding the Americans off of the farm or out of the fishing and other industries.

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*Liberalism in Japan, John Dewey, Dial, 63:283-285.

There is no organized movement to colonize California and a great deal of the land now occupied by them has been reclaimed fromthe desert and also the swamps, or is land on which the Americans were unable to make a living. The majority of the work being done by the Japanese is of a character the Americans do not care to do.

1 Opinions as to Industry and Thrift.

John S. Chamberlin, Controller of the State of California says: "I frankly admit the intelligence, the industry and thrift of the Japanese, the wonderful strides Japan has made since Perry's time and her proud position today as one of the greatest nations of the world.* Honorable William N. Vaille of Colorado says: "The Japanese, it is universally true, are the finest kind of people, law abiding--I may say more law abiding than we are ourselves, none in the poorhouse, none in the insane asylums."** Robert Newton Lynch, vice-president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, speaks highly of "Japan's entry into the great war, her staunch rejection of German sympathy and her great service in policing the waters of the Pacific, even protecting the waters of our Pacific coast," and he adds, "It raised the Japanese in popular esteem and confidence on the Pacific coast."***

Governor Stephens speaks eloquently of the many admirable qualities of the Japanese and says: "We assume no arrogant superiority of race or culture over them. Their art, their literature, their philosophy and in recent years their scientific

*Stevens, W. D. California and the Oriental p. 74. San Fran. 1924.
**Review of Reviews, June 1924, Japan and Immigration.
***San Francisco Chronicle, June 7, 1923.

attainments have gained for them a respect from the white peoples which we who know them so well fully share."* Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president emeritus of the State University, mentions "their virtues," but strangely enough adds that these things "render their presence among us a pitiful danger."** "There is no record in history where the Almighty has been able to produce a race able to justify its existence and leave out the homely virtues of thrift, industry and hard work. If the possession of these qualities by any class of people in the United States of America constitues a danger, the prayers of the people should be that, like small-pox and measles, it may become infections with no quarantine laws against the speed of it."

K. Real Point at Issue

Before going farther with this discussion let it be understood that there is no quarrel among the people of California as to the advisability of preventing immigration of the laboring classes. This cannot be stated too strongly. All are agreed, including the Japanese, that it is not desirable to admit any but students, artists, travelers and members of the professional classes. The whole question is, "How shall this be done and how shall those who are here be treated? Shall these people and the Japanese nation be dealt with as become one great nation dealing with another nation? Shall the question be handled in a way to allow America to retain her self-respect, and the confidence and good-will of Japan and the other nations of the world? Or shall a short-sighted policy be followed that will forfeit the good-will so essential to America if she is to continue as the great moral

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*Stephens, California and the Oriental, p. 192.
**Quoted in New York Times, July 6, 1924.

leader of the nations?" There seems to be no danger from the parents. They have been law abiding, industrious, honest and willing and anxious at all times that their children should acquire an education and knowledge of our language. It is not surprising that they should be a bit backward about asking their children to become wildly enthusiastic over a country that denied to them, the parents, any opportunity to become citizens. Is it surprising that they should still cherish memories of the land that gave them birth and the only land to which they can look for protection?

Since the formation of the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 the clamor about the menace of the Japanese invasion has had no foundation in fact. By that agreement and the later modifications Japan undertook to cut off the flow of her laborers to the United States. If, as was sometimes claimed, the Government of Japan did not strictly observe its obligations, then there was something vitally wrong with the American consuls who set their seals on the passports issued by Tokio. The agreement itself was evidence that Japan wanted no dispute with the United States over immigration and was willing to meet the American demand for protection against "the Japanese invasion." Moreover Japan was prepared to modify the agreement with a view to making the bar even more rigid. That was not all. Japan expressed a willingness to accept a quota arrangement which would admit only about one hundred and fifty Japanese to the United States annually, or even a smaller number. Japanese immigration was not an issue. With Japan the question was merely how to avoid an express discrimination in the letter of the law. Whoever raises the bogy of "the alien invasion" in

leader of the nations." There seems to be no danger from the parents. They have been low spirited, industrious, honest and willing and anxious at all times that their children should acquire an education and knowledge of our language. It is not surprising that they should be a bit backward about asking their children to become wild, rollicking over a country that denies to them, the parents, any opportunity to become citizens. Is it surprising that they should still cherish memories of the land that gave them birth and the only land to which they can look for protection?

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the discussion of relations with Japan either has ulterior motives or suffers from a lack of knowledge.

1. No Bogy of Invasion

The substance of the controversy is not immigration. Neither is it a genuine fear on the part of informed American citizens that Japan is preparing for a war of revenge or aggression against the United States. No person at all conversant with the weight of men, money, and economic endurance involved in such a war believes for a moment that Japan can cross the Pacific Ocean, assail our Western coast, and--to use the language of hysterics--seize all the territory as far east as Denver. The most pessimistic view of the case is that if war arose Japan would snap up the Philippines, and that it would take considerable effort on our part to restore them to the position of liberty which they now so happily enjoy under American sovereignty. A sensible view of the matter takes note of the disparity of forces. Japan proper has about fifty-eight million people; the United States has twice that number. Japan is at present almost entirely dependent upon other countries for iron and steel and for most of the great engines of war such as airplanes, gyroscopes, and motor trucks. The United States has unlimited supplies of iron and steel at home and commands all the technical instrumentalities for the destruction of life and property. Japan is a poor country, measured in dollars and cents; the United States is the richest nation on earth and could finance a war a hundred years after Japan fell flat in bankruptcy.

2. Reasons for Restriction

This point must be clearly borne in mind. With few, if any,

exceptions, all Americans are agreed that, for the present at least, there should be no mass immigration of Asiatic peoples to our shores. And we believe the leading Japanese and Chinese statesmen recognize the wisdom of this policy. That it is a national policy is evident from the several Chinese exclusion laws, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan of 1907, and the barred zones erected in almost all the rest of Asia by the general immigration act of 1917. There should be no occasion for alarm lest this policy be reversed and our Western coast be flooded with immigrants from Asia. It is true that the Japanese would be desirable immigrants from every point of view save two. They are industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding; they are literate in their own tongue; they would go on the land, where labor is so much needed in these days of the drift to the cities; and they are quick to grasp new ways and methods. But they would come from a country of much lower economic development than our own, where wages are often ten times less than those paid in California; and so, unrestricted immigration might mean mass immigration in numbers too great to be assimilated, and productive of serious disturbance in our economic life. And they would be representatives of a race, different in color and culture, with which white people are not yet prepared to deal on its merits. It would be equally unfortunate for the white settlers of the West and for the Japanese immigrants if any appreciable immigration were permitted until our people are ready and willing to receive these aliens. But, on the other hand, the passage of legislation discriminating against Oriental subjects already resident among

us has been in the past, and will herafter be, if persisted in, the occasion of difference of opinion among our own people, and of bitterness on the part of our Asiatic neighbors. All this seems so elemental, that one may well wonder why there should be any problem at all in California. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the reasons for the heated discussions of the past few months.

Down to the summer of 1908, there was unrestricted immigration from Japan and the Hawaiian Islands. The present local problem is a legacy of those days of free immigration. In 1908 the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was in effective operation; and since that time there has been little increase in the number of Japanese laborers admitted to this country. An unofficial census made by the Japanese themselves in March 1920, estimated their number at 78,628, and the estimate of the State Board of Control, not based however on an enumeration, was 87,279. But in any case the numbers are not alarming for a state with a population of 3,426,861, which has shown an increase of 1,049,312 in the past decade. Unofficial estimates, often cited without proof, assert that the Japanese population ranges between 100,000 and 150,000.

When studying the figures of Japanese immigration, it must be remembered that a considerable allowance has to be made for the departures of travelers, merchants, students, and officials, as well as for the movement back and forth of Japanese settlers who return home for a visit between harvests. Thus the number of arrivals on the Continent, between July, 1908, and July, 1919 was 79,738, while the number of departures in the same period

was 68,770, leaving a net increase in eleven years of 10,968.*

The Japanese immigrants between 1900 and 1908 were chiefly young men--laborers who came up from the Hawaiian plantations after the annexation of Hawaii and before the restrictive measures of 1908. Few brought wives with them. In 1910, the census reported 35,116 male and 6,240 female Japanese in California. Of those numbers, 29,423 men and 4,140 women were between the ages of twenty and forty-five. Naturally, as the men established themselves in positions where they could support a wife and family, they desired to do so. Unable to find Japanese women in this country, they sent home for them in many cases, and these women became the much-discussed "picture brides." Some 5,749 of these brides arrived at San Francisco between July, 1911, and March 1920. Other Japanese returned and found wives of their choice in Japan; so that in 1920 the census reported 44,364 Japanese males and 25,832 females.

The opponents of the Japanese and other Orientals base their objections on the sweeping charge that they are unassimilable. Assimilation, of course, may be of two kinds, physical and cultural. Few would allege today that the physical assimilation of a white and a yellow race is impossible. The difficulties in the way are social, rather than biological. The point need not be argued, however, because the Japanese have as highly developed a sense of race as have the white peoples, and only in the remote future can we think of these social barriers breaking down. And it is well to remember that we number among our most useful and prominent citizens the representatives of an Asiatic race which has kept

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*World Almanac, N.Y.City 1925, p. 259.

its blood remarkably pure through centuries of persecution and exile?

When, however, it comes to cultural assimilation, we have the right to demand that the objectors prove their negative. And this, of course, they cannot do. It is thoughtless, to say the least, to denounce the Japanese as unassimilable, when there are so few facts on which to base an opinion. In the first place, the bulk of the Japanese in California were born in Japan. The children, in spite of their proficiency in the public schools, have been reared by parents of Japanese culture. A Japanese of the third generation is rarely found in this country. After we have a considerable number of young Japanese with American-born parents, then, and only then, shall we have some slight basis for an opinion as to whether the Japanese can absorb American ways and ideals. As a matter of fact, we know that the Japanese school children are eager for education, and are apt pupils. Few of them would endeavor to master the difficult language of their parents were it not for parental pressure. Many of them, where the parents are conversant with English, have made no attempt to study Japanese; and I believe it to be very doubtful if many of the third generation in this country will have any acquaintance with the language of their ancestors. Furthermore, the Japanese settlers are themselves eager to adapt themselves to American ways; and we have been informed that the only racial group which is making any effort to carry out an Americanization programme in California is the Japanese.

But while we are waiting for the evidence of the third generation, we might venture to hazard the opinion that, if the Japanese were given a fair opportunity, they would prove unusually

assimilable. No people, in all history have shown equal ability in the absorption of alien ideas. The rise of Japan from feudal impotence to wealth and to power is mainly the story of the acquisition of Western culture. The Japanese governmental organization, the schools and universities, the courts and codes, the industrial development, the merchant marine, the army and navy, all testify to the open-mindedness, the adaptiveness, and the versatility of the Japanese. To say that such a people is unassimilable is merely to confess that we will not permit it to be assimilated.

3. Attempts to Forestall Assimilation

Thus California has recently imposed an alien poll-tax, which, if it can be enforced, will be collected largely from Orientals, for the other aliens can become citizens and escape it. A measure is now pending in the legislature, similar to one which almost passed in 1919, for the segregation of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian children in special schools. A demand is made that Congress specifically debar the Japanese from naturalization; for at present their disability is due solely to judicial interpretation in lower courts, which may be at some time set aside by the Supreme Court of the United States. And, in addition, an amendment to the Federal Constitution is proposed, to deny citizenship to the native-born children of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The alien poll-tax is mainly a punitive measure; for it will bring in little revenue to the state because of the heavy cost of collection. The segregation of Oriental school-children is most unwise, unless the people prefer to have unassimilated alien colonies in their midst; for the strongest factor in Americanization is, of course, the

assimilable. No people, in all history, have been equal unity in the absorption of alien ideas. The rise of Japan is equal instance to wealth and to power is mainly the story of the acquisition of Western culture. The Japanese government regulation, the schools and universities, the courts and codes, the industrial development, the government service, the army and navy, all testify to the open-mindedness, the adaptiveness, and the versatility of the Japanese. To say that such a people is assimilable is merely to confess that we will not permit it to be assimilated.

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public school. And to debar native-born Orientals from citizenship means the perpetuation of racial minorities after the fashion of the old Dual Empire. Now, these measures, and others of similar character, are aimed at aliens who have entered our country in accordance with our laws, and who are entitled to justice.

4. Facts and Figures in reference to Americanization in the U. S. as Related to Hawaii

*The United States census of 1920 show that the Japanese population increased during the past decade from 79,675 to 109,269. This is an increase of 37.1 per cent. When, however, it is observed that the rest of the population also increased very rapidly, namely from 191,909 to 255,912 the facts take on a somewhat different color. Indeed, during the decade the Japanese population increased from 41.5 to only 42.7 per cent of the whole population, a relative increase of only 1.2 per cent. And even during the decade 1900-1910, when immigration from Japan was unrestricted, the increase of Japanese population as compared with the whole population was only from 39.7 to 41.5, or 1.8 per cent. Anti-Japanese agitators uniformly misrepresent the situation in Hawaii, alike as to figures and as to their interpretation. Four race-groups there had higher birthrates than the Japanese. The Report of the Board of Health for June 30, 1920 gives figures for all the nationalities, of which the following are especially pertinent. Chinese, 29.2 per thousand; Hawaiian, 30.7; Japanese, 43.7; Porto Rican, 50; Caucasian-Hawaiian, 64.7; Asiatic-Hawaiian 80.5; and Spanish, 116 per thousand.

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*Report of Board of Health Honolulu, June 30, 1920.

As to the question of Americanization of Japanese in Hawaii, see what is actually going on in the public schools, in the churches, and in civic life. Japanese youth reared in Hawaii are, as a rule, so far Americanized that life in Japan is intolerable. Clubs of young Japanese-Americans have been organized, who glory in their American citizenship. They resent and denounce the claims upon them of the Japanese government. However earnestly Japanese government, Japanese parents and teachers may instruct their children to 'worship the Mikado', that teaching is completely nullified in the vast majority of cases by the teaching in the American schools. The older children and young people, both in California and in Hawaii, rejoice in and are proud of their American citizenship. Whether or not Japanese in America and California are going to be loyal Americans, as the decades pass, depends very largely on the way we treat or mistreat them. Cross ignorance as to the actual situation, violent misrepresentation, seeing only the bad and utterly ignoring the good, together with discriminatory legislation, are hardly calculated to win the good-will and helpful cooperation of any group of aliens recently admitted to our shores.

5. The Agrarian Phase and Land Holding

If immigration were unrestricted, so that thousands of Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus could enter the state, work for a time as laborers, then become small landowners or tenants, there would be a serious agrarian problem. But with immigration rigidly controlled, the Orientals can hardly play a large role in the agricultural life of the state. In certain branches of farming, in which they excel, or in which conditions of labor are distasteful to

Up to the question of particularity of interest in Canada, one thing is certainly going on in the public mind. In the underworld, and in civic life, Japanese youth seems to well are a role, so the Americanized that life in Japan is intolerable. Clubs of young Japanese-Canadians have been organized, one giving to their Canadian citizenship. They reason and determine the philosophy that of the Japanese government. Towards properly Japanese government, Japanese parents and teachers may instruct their children to transfer the citizenship, but teaching is completely nullified in the vast majority of cases by the teaching in the American schools. The older children and young people, both in California and in Hawaii, relative to and are proud of their American citizenship. Whether or not Japanese in America and California are going to be loyal Americans, as the decades pass, remains very largely on the way we treat or mistreat them. Great ignorance as to the actual situation, violent misrepresentations, making only the bad and utterly ignoring the good, together with discrimination and legislation, are hardly calculated to win the good-will and loyal cooperation of any group of aliens regardless of which is our choice.

5. The American Press and Land Holding

If Japanese were unassimilated, so that the Japanese of California, Japanese, and Filipino would make this state, work for a time in Japanese, then become small industrialists or traders, they could be a further economic problem. But with Japanese rightly treated, the Oriental is one merely play a large role in the agricultural life of the state. In certain districts and towns, in fish, fruit, wood, or in other occupations of labor are distinctly to

white farmers, the Japanese have done remarkably well. *In 1919 their farm-products were valued at $67,145,730, out of a total production of $507,611,881. But the great crops of the state are hay, grain, and fruits, while the Japanese raised vegetables, berries, grapes, fruit and nuts.

In view of all the facts, the opinion of Professor Millis regarding the law of 1913 holds true today: **"The present prohibition of land-ownership is unjust, impolitic, and, with a restricted immigration, unnecessary. The proposed prohibition of leasing would be still worse. It is more unjust, more impolitic, and more objectionable on social grounds, than prohibition of ownership, and on the plea of necessity has still slighter excuse." But if the economic objections to Oriental land-holding are greatly exaggerated, the fact remains that many of the white farmers of California seriously object to having these strangers, whom they sincerely believe to be unassimilable, enter their communities and take up land. The objection again is racial, rather than economic. A somewhat similar condition has prevailed in the framing districts of New England where, in recent years, immigrants from Southern Europe have taken up many of the abandoned farms.

The effect of the law, so far as any reduction in the quantity of land worked by Orientals is concerned, will probably be small. Much of the acreage which they now work is held under labor or crop contracts, and this form of tenure will probably be used in the future. In fact, it is often better for a Japanese tenant-farmer to work on shares than to assume the risks of a lease. So a great amount of agitation has been provoked, with small result.

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*Stephens, W. D. The Oriental in California p. 19. San Fran. Calif.
**Miller, H. A. Japanese Problem in the U. S. p. 181. Macmillan: N.Y., 1915.

It was the late Theodore Roosevelt who said that, in dealing with the Japanese question, we should endeavor to secure the maximum of efficiency with a minimum of friction.

6. Opposition is Political

One will have a better understanding of the present situation if he will read Chinese Immigration, the scholarly investigation of Mrs. Mary Roberts Coolidge, Professor of Sociology in Mills College. And no one who reads it could countenance a repetition of its events in these enlighened days. Politics early became entangled in the Anti-Chinese agitation, so that no man could hope for political preferment who did not take a decided stand against the Orientals. This holds true today, and the recent agitation was brought to a head during the last political campaign. Between campaigns, certain special organizations keep alive the discussion. Formerly the Oriental (now Japanese) Exclusion League carried this burden; but more recently such powerful organizations as the American Legion and the Native Sons of the Golden West, largely under the influence of certain of their members who were associated with the Exclusion League, have gone on record in determined opposition. We were told that Japan was about to spend $50,000,000 for propaganda in this country, largely through the purchase of country newspapers in California. Another traveler solemnly alleged that the Japanese were responsible for the present lamentable famine in China; and so it goes. How the people, fed upon such information, cannot help but absorb it.

If no drastic action is taken in the immediate future, we may be hopeful of the outcome. The present Japanese question in California is the result of the unrestricted immigration of these Orien-

tals before the summer of 1908. The conditions that today afford any occasion for alarm will soon be removed. The number of Japanese will probably become relatively smaller and smaller. The two per cent of California's population in 1920, will be even less in 1930 and in the following decades, until a Japanese laborer will be as rare a sight in California as a Chinese laborer is today. The birth-rate, which rose so rapidly between 1912 and 1917, will no doubt rapidly subside. The immigration of women will also decline, as the single men secure wives. The land-holdings, which increased rapidly as the original immigrants changed their status from laborers on the ranches, the railroads and mines, to farm-owners and tenants, will gradually stabilize. Each year will see less basis in fact for an anti-Japanese agitation. But--the fact might just as well be faced--so long as any Orientals are domiciled within our borders, we may expect a certain type of agitator to hurl denunciations upon them.

L. National Aspects of Immigration

Turning to the national aspects of the case, we found that the fundamental question was that of immigration. It is the duty of the nation to the people of the west coast to see that the immigration of Oriental laborers is rigidly controlled. At one time, Japanese immigration is regulated by the "Gentlemen's Agreement." This was the contribution of President Roosevelt and Secretary Root to the effective solution of the problem. Under the terms of this agreement, Japan promised to give no passports to laborers, and we in turn announced that no Japanese could enter our ports from Japan or Hawaii without a proper passport. No one can charge that Japan has failed to keep the letter and the spirit of this agreement with absolute integrity.

1. Japan's Lack--America's Supply

As has been said, Japan proper alone has a population of 60,000,000 and is increasing annually. Her natural resources are not expanding at any such rate. Her area is 147,000 square miles, so that she has a population of 380 per square mile. Out of the total area, only sixteen per cent of it is fit for cultivation, while the rest is made up of either mountains or forests. Fifty-six millions of Japanese must eke their existence out of the products of 22,000 square miles, one-quarter of an acre per capita. No less striking is her scarcity of natural resources. She produces no wool; she has a limited supply of iron, and no large supply of coal. With two-thirds as many as the entire population of the United States, Japan's problem os existence is not an easy one.

There extends along the border of the Pacific Ocean vast tracts of land, sparsely peopled, with their vast resources left unexploited and their fertile soil untouched. In the Southern Pacific lies the island continent of Australia, larger than the United States, but with a population of only 5,000,000, perhaps less than the population of the single city of New York. On the other shore of the Pacific there is another colony which surpasses in its land area its great southern neighbor, but with a population only one-tenth of the population of the Mikado's empire. And here in the United States you have vast lands of opportunities, the refuge for the oppressed, the nursery of genius of every clime, welcoming every race and creed from Europe.

2. Difficulties to be Overcome

There are causes of anti-Japanese agitation which it would be well to ponder, and devise ways to remove the root of the

trouble. The first and all-embracing of these causes it the over-concentration, the concentration of the Japanese in certain particular districts. Out of 120,000 Japanese in this country, over two-thirds are living in California, and it is in that State that they show a marked tendency to increase in numbers and economic importance. This fact rouses in the hearts of the Californians the fear of losing control of the State, and makes the cry "California for the Californians!" a strong rallying point.

(a) Low Wages and Standard of Living

Let us say, first, that the Japanese work for low wages. This true at one time no longer so is. As a matter of fact, the Japanese laborers in many instances receive wages as high or higher than the American laborers. Often the Japanese laborers are paid from $4.50 to $5.00 while the American laborers are paid from $3.50 to $4.00. This difference is due to the fact that in certain farm work--for instance, picking berries--the Japanese laborers are more efficient.

*"In the second place, the standard of living maintained among the Japanese, it is said, is lower than among the Americans, and thus degrades American civilization. This needs also careful scrutiny. A decade or so ago this assertion was undoubtedly true, but we cannot be sure of it today. The diet of the Japanese farmer may be in kind quite different from that of the American; but I can attest to the fact that a Japanese dinner is by no means less costly than the American dinner, both of which I myself enjoy. There is no more liberal spender than the Japanese youth. In fact,

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*Stevens, California State Reports, Governor, 1920,21 San Fran.

hostile. The first and all-pervading of these dangers is the over-concentration, the concentration of the Japanese in certain restricted districts. Out of 127,000 Japanese in California, over two-thirds are living in California, and it is in that State that they show a marked tendency to increase in numbers and economic importance. This fact figures in the hostility of the Californians and their of imposing control of the State, and makes the cry "California for the Californians" a strong rallying point.

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"Gavison, California State Society, Governor, 1920 Jul. See Pam.

the Japanese youth have too much weakness for making display. They want to ride in a Cadillac or a Pierce-Arrow instead of being contented with the creation of Henry Ford."

(b) Increase of Population

*"Consider the fear of the Californians about the increase of the Japanese population. There have been particular reasons for the special increase you have observed during the past decade: in the first place, about fifteen thousand wives have joined their husbands; in the second place, twenty-thousand children were born; and in the third place, remarkable increase of American-Japanese trade during the World War has brought a large number of Japanese clerks and managers and business men into this country. The present settlers are in the stage of the greatest productivity. The Japanese are not immune from mortality. They will grow old and die out, and when the average age among the people comes to be maintained as in ordinary normal society, I am sure that their birth-rate will come to be about the same rate as is maintained among the Californians or among other people of your country."

(c) Occupation of Land and Monopoly of Crops

Lastly, Governor Stevens said in his report to Secretary of State Colby that California has of arable land about 28,000,000 acres, out of which the Japanese own over 74,000 acres and lease 384,000 acres. That is to say, the Japanese own one acre to every 376 acres and lease one to every 72 acres of arable land of California. But we must remember that of that arable land there are today over 60,000,000 acres which are still left uncultivated simply because of lack of man's hand, and, if you please,

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*Gulick, Where East is West. Outlook, 102:12-14. April 3, 1920.

the Japanese people have too much business for making display. They want to ride in a Cadillac or a Pierce-Arrow instead of being unsettled with the upsetting of heavy food.[1]

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Lastly, Governor Stevens said in his report to Secretary of State Colby that California has of arable land about 28,000,000 acres, but of which the Japanese own over 74,000 acres and lease 384,000 acres. That is to say, the Japanese own one acre to every 384 acres and lease one to every 74 acres of arable land of California. But we must remember that of that arable land there are today over 40,000,000 acres which are until late unsuitable for lack of water, because of lack of rain, and, if you please

[1] Stevens Rept. in Cong. Contest. 1008: 13-14. Cheyrill, p. 8.

of lack of enterprise. It is therefore rather unbecoming to the Californians, I think, to grumble about the utilization of a certain portion of this waste land for productive purposes.

The Governor also called attention to the great percentage of the agricultural product of California produced by the Japanese. There is a clear line of demarcation in the farming of Japanese and Americans. While the Japanese produced eighty or ninety percent of tomatoes, spinach, celery, and garden truck, on the other hand American farmers monopolized the important production of hay and grain and produced from eighty to ninety percent of potatoes, corn, cotton, fruit, and nuts. Those crops, you see, in which the Japanese are strong are those which cannot be advantageously produced by the Californian, because their cultivation and gathering require the squatting position to which the Japanese are accustomed.

M. Land Law Passed.

Despite these facts, the law forbidding the owning of land or the leasing of land has passed. That initiative bill aims first to prohibit the Japanese from owning land; second, to prohibit the Japanese from leasing land; third, to prohibit the possession of real property by Japanese minors who are American citizens, under the guardian-ship of their parents; fourth, to escheat to the State the real property under certain prima facis presumptions; and lastly, to prohibit the Japanese from having any interest in any company or corporation whatever that has anything to do with the owning of land.

1. Its Drastic Nature.

*The drastic nature of the law is too apparent for any dis-

*Pruett, R. L. Oriental Question and Popular Diplomacy, Japan Review pp.291-292. August 1920

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1. The Penalty Section.

The penalty nature of the law is too severe for any dis-

Property Act. Original Application and Special Injunction, Japan Review pp. 1-2. (Unpublished)

cussion. We will leave to the constitutional lawyers whether that bill does not violate the American Constitution in denying to certain residents who have been legally admitted into this country the equal protection of the law as guaranteed by that immortal document. Or the Japanese Government may lay before the Federal Government a formal protest on the theory that the initiative bill infringes on the Japanese treaty of 1911 by running counter to the spirit of justice and fair dealing pervading that document in denying to the Japanese residing here the same blessings which are extended to other nationalities. Leaving these questions to legal students and the proper authorities, we would rather say that the law is unwise and it is futile. It is unwise because if it accomplishes its object it will deprive the Californians of many of the table delicacies which they have been heretofore enjoying and which they think are indispensable to them. It is futile because it can be evaded by legal subterfuge, which Governor Stevens himself confesses it is not possible for the State to counteract. California has no lack of lawyers who are resourceful and ingenious enough to teach the Japanese the technical way of evading the law. By this measure of persecution the Californians are driving the Japanese to become a race of hypocrites and law-breakers, or to entertain in their breasts a feeling of resentment and bitterness born of the consciousness of injustice inflicted upon them.*

N. Japan's Adaptability to Foreign Ways and Thoughts

One fact that stands out in bold letters on the pages of Japan's history is her susceptibility to foreign ways and thoughts.

Pruett. Oriental Question and Popular Diplomacy. Japan Review pp. 291-292. August 1920.

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3. Japan's susceptibility to foreign opinion and thoughts

One fact that stands out in bold letters on the pages of Japan's history is her susceptibility to foreign opinion and thoughts.

[illegible] Political Economy and Jurist Diplomacy. Japan Review [illegible] August 1920.

Her people were always perfectly ready to accept, adopt, and assimilate everything good which an alien country had to offer. Centuries ago Japanese people assimilated Chinese civilization and adopted the Hindu religion and philosophy. When in the middle of the nineteenth century Japan discovered that the Occident was incomparably a greater teacher than her Oriental neighbors, she hastened, in obedience to her inborn instinct, to learn everything America, England, France, Germany, or even Russian had to teach. How complete, how successful has been the studentship, how complete the transformation! What ideals and thoughts worthy of consideration in the Occident, what objects or appliances that are conducive to social welfare, do you find today neglected or left untransplanted in Japan? Within two generations we have witnessed that a despotic monarchy was swept away and the constitutional regime took its place, and the people all admitted not only to a share of the government today, but profoundly stirred by the spirit of democracy, an extensive and liberal system of education adopted, with public schools open to every child, and universities turning out students capable of original research in the sciences or philosophies of the West. This wonderful metamorphosis is the conclusive argument of the assimilability of her people in American ways and thoughts.

The Japanese psychology is not out of keeping with the American temperament. Both are immensely practical people, but at the same time they are susceptible to the promptings of normal aspirations. Both are aggressively progressive and are ready victims of fads and shifting notions. But they are at bottom conservative, and plentifully endowed with what we call horse sense,--sound common

her people were always perfectly ready to accept, adopt, and assimilate everything good which an alien country had to offer. Confucian age Japanese people assimilated Chinese civilization and adopted the Hindu religion and philosophy. Then in the middle of the nineteenth century Japan discovered that the Occident was incomparably a greater teacher than her original models, she learned, in obedience to her inborn instinct, to learn everything science, England, France, Germany, or even Russian and to teach. Not complete, but successful has been the stupendous, how complete the transformation! What ideals and those like worthy of consideration in the Occident, what objects or organizations, that are conducive to social welfare, do you find today neglected or left unorganized in Japan? Within two generations we have witnessed that a despotic monarchy was swept away and the constitutional regime took its place, and the people all rejoiced not only to a degree of the government today, but profoundly stirred by the spirit of democracy, an extensive and liberal system of education adopted, with public schools open to every child, and universities turning out students capable of original research in the sciences or philosophies of the West. This wonderful metamorphosis is the conclusive argument of the assimilability of her people in Japan-ism were and thought.

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sense. True, there are certain phases of temperament that seem to be out of joint with ours. For instance, the Jap in his studied self-restraint, and in his inscrutable relicence often proves tantalizing to us. To the most brutally outspoken Americans it is sure they are tantalizing. The younger generations of Japan are in fact approaching the American type too fast, so as to cause dismay to the older people. The present is the transition stage in American-Japanese relations. Naturally, it is beset with innumerable difficulties. The time demands a wise steering over the dangerous shoals and troubled waters. We might well put our trust upon the able statesmen of Americanand Japan, with the hope that they will soon bring the troubled ship to a safe mooring.

1. Accepts Our Friendly Attitude, but Hurt by Rejection of the Agreement

Reverting to the diplomatic phase of the question of exclusion it is to be noted that the Conference on Limitation of Armament (Washington 1923) and the treaties there made convinced Japan of the friendly attitude of the United States, that she had no imperialistic ambitions in the Far East. The conviction of good will and friendly relationship was still further increased by the prompt and generous sympathy of the United States shown by its gifts of money to the sufferers by fire and earthquake in Japan.

Their gratitude was rudely disturbed by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court (November 1923) sustaining the discriminatory and repressive legislation of California and other western states. Smarting under this to her, vindictive measure, she was still further hurt and humiliated when the Congress of the United

States passed the quota immigration law (May, 1924) which brushed aside the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in a manner highly offensive to the Japanese people.

(a) Justification of Bill

A letter from the clerk of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House reads: "My personal impression is that this bill will authorize admission of almost all now entitled to enter. The chief purpose is to vest jurisdiction in the Government of the United States, instead of in the Government of Japan. This is proper, justifiable, and in consonance with sound National policy. Congress always has disapproved of the informal "Gentlemen's Agreement," which has no standing as a treaty, hence no real authority in law. There is no animosity toward Japan or the Japanese. They are understood and appreciated. But their colonization in the United States never has been desired. In other words we like them and we want to be friends with them, but we want them to stay on their own side of the street. We do not want them to play in our yard, which we prefer to reserve for our own children. If they insist on taking offense at this attitude, then we think them a little too touchy."*

(b) Hanahara's Reply

To this, Ambassador Hanihara replied: *As it appears to me, the difference, if there is any, between your friend and me on the subject in question lies in the means of attaining the end, rather than in the end itself. We of Japan have never desired to send

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*Congressional Record, May 1924.
**Buell, Japanese Immigration, Vol. I, p. 361, 1924. World's Peace Foundation. Boston.

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(b) Ambassador's Reply

To this Ambassador Hanihara replied: "As it appears to me, the difference, if there is any, between your friend and me on the subject in question lies in the reason of attributing the cause, rather than in the end itself. We of Japan have never desired to cause

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*Congressional Record, May 1924.
**Shell - Japanese Immigration. Vol. 1. p. 501. 1924. Author's Press Association. Seattle.

her labor emigrants where they are not wanted. We have means to effectively co-operate with your country to prevent them from coming to this country. We have given abundant proof of it. Your Government knows that. Your people who squarely look into the facts of the case know that. My people will stay, as they have been staying, 'on their own side of the street,' as your friend put it, if they are not wanted on the other side. There cannot be any question of such Japanese colonization in the United States as alledged to be detrimental to the best interests of the country, they have been here largely on your invitation, and they are entitled to such fair and just treatment as is freely accorded to other nationals. We have no complaint to make about your regulating your own problem as you deem best, provided that no arbitrary discrimination against Japanese people as such is involved. I wonder, if Japan were to enact a law providing in effect that American people as such are unworthy and undesirable as compared with peoples of other countries, what your people would say."

"As for me, I firmly believe in the high sense of justice and fair play of your people, and am confidently hoping that the matter will be given its proper solution in the end--a solution that is fair and satisfactory to both countries."*

(c) Justice of Japan's Position

It is not true, as has been represented, that a clause of special exclusion against "Persons ineligible to citizenship" aimed at the Japanese would be a violation of treaty. The Toot-Takahira agreement, or "Gentlemen's Agreement," as it is called,

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*Gulick. Right Relations between Japan and the United States. Pamphlet Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. N.Y. 1924.

their labor migrants where they are not wanted. We have needed to effectively co-operate with your country to prevent them from coming to this country. We have given abundant proof of it. Your Government knows that. Your people who actually lack like the facts of the case know that. My people will stay, as they have been staying, on their own side of the street, as your friend put it, if they are not wanted on the other side. There cannot be any question of mass immigration coloniation in the United States as alleged to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. They have been here legally on your invitation, and they are entitled to such fair and just treatment as is freely accorded to other nationals. We have no complaint to make about your regulating your own problems as you deem best, provided that no arbitrary discrimination against Japanese people as such is involved. I wonder, if there were to occur a law providing in effect that Americans, people as such are unwanted and undesirable as compared with people of other countries, what your people would say.

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[illegible] Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, p. 1024.

it has been rightly said, has no standing as a treaty. But such a clause would be a violation of good will and a repudiation by the legislative department of the diplomacy of the executive department: another one of those regrettable incidents in American foreign relations which do us no good abroad. And Secretary Hughes believes that Congressional action of the sort proposed is justifiable only in event that there is no other apparent means of gaining the desired end--which Ambassador Hanihara's letter indicates is not the case.

To sum up Congress holds out for a new principle in Japanese exclusion: the principle of vesting jurisdiction in the Government of the United States instead of in the Government of Japan. One is high-minded in his feeling that the present loose diplomatic agreement, without "real authority in law," however honorably carried out, must ever be a source of suspicion and that the best and only way to put a stop to the tide of racial prejudice on the Pacific coast is to put an absolute and complete check to further unlimited Japanese immigration in such a definite, diplomatic, and, if possible, mutually satisfactory way that every citizen of those States will feel that there are no loopholes. The results from the new method would not differ greatly from those of the present. It is the principle that matters.

O. Possible Reasons for Exclusion

But we find the Japanese entirely acquiescent in the matter of desired results. However, the Japanese feel that if Japan is to be singled out in immigration legislation she ought to be allowed to cooperate in making and enforcing the restrictions upon her own children. When children are kept out of one's neighbor's yard by

it has been finally said, has no standing as a treaty. But such a clause would be a violation of good faith and a termination by the legislative department of the allegiance of the executive department, another one of those recurrent incidents in American foreign relations which do us no good abroad. And Secretary Hughes believes that Congressional action of the sort proposed is practically only in event that there is no other apparent means of making the desired end--which Japanese Ambassador Matsudaira letter indicates is not the case.

To use the Japanese folks out for a new principle in Japanese explaining the principle of vesting jurisdiction in the Government of the United States instead of in the Government of Japan, one is high-minded in his feeling that the present issue displeasing is arranged, without "real authority in law." However honestly carried out, must ever be a matter of conjecture and that the best and only way to put a stop to the side of social prejudice on the Pacific coast is to put an absolute and definite check to further unlimited Japanese implication in such a direction, diplomatic, and if possible, actually satisfactory way that every citizen of those States will feel that there are no loopholes. The result is from the new method would not differ greatly from those of the present. It is the principle that matters.

C. Possible Reason for Exclusion

But so did the Japanese entirely acquiescent in the action of Congress regulate. However, the Japanese feel that if Japan is to be singled out in immigration legislation she ought to be allowed to compete in making and enforcing the regulations upon her own initiative. The children are kept out of school's neighborhood by

mutual agreement between your neighbor and yourself, duly reached after kindly discussion, one feels much better about it than if they are kept out by a drastically worded fiat of that neighbor. And in taking you into advisement in the matter the neighbor has surrendered none of his sovereignty of possession.

1. Inferiority and Color

Antipathy cannot be laid to the intellectual inferiority of these races. Japan and China have their full proportion of intellectual giants and near-giants. Their civilization, though of a different kind, is as high as ours, and their art in some respects is superior.

It would seem to the superficial person that it is a matter of color. Beneficent Nature, with her usual lavish hand, spilled more coloring matter into some cuticles than into others; therefore the super-white races, '99.44 per cent pure,' like a certain brand of soap, have taken a prejudice, it would seem, against the races that show on the surface a little more coloring matter. The white race of Northern Europe, who constitute our chief racial stock, are antipathetic to the colored races; while the Spaniards and Portuguese and, to some extent, the Italians, with their black hair and eyes and more swarthy skins, have little prejudice even against intermarriage.

(2) Competition and Exploitation

The California fruit-grower discovers that the Japanese fruit-grower is smarter than he is; and he camouflages his objection with the statement that 'the Oriental will lower the scale of American living.' The white American laborer sees the Chinese laundryman

working twelve hours a day, burning the midnight oil, and rejoicing in the opportunity, while he desires chiefly to scamp his own eight-hour day, work as little as possible, and get, but not earn, his five dollar bill at the end of it. Of course, he objects to 'cheap yellow labor.' Query: which is yellower?

*"The South African magnate on the gold reef of Johannesburg, or in the great diamond-pits of Kimberley, hates the approximation of the black men to the white,--intellectually and educationally,--because he wishes to keep the blacks in contract slavery, and intern them for a year at a time behind his barbed-wire stockade. So he scoffs at the missionary and the schoolmaster, and continues to despise the negro because he can exploit him. Otherwise he would fear him.

Even the philosophic philanthropist, when he counts up the nations, begins to shiver in his shoes as he realizes that the more-or-less colored races outnumber the whites, three to one; that they dominate, a hundred to one, the two largest continents, and are in a large majority in yet another continent.

P. General Attitude of Japan and the United States Towards Each Other

**Those who have studied the question from the point of view of the United States and also of the Far East, are convinced that neither America nor Japan wants war, over either the California question or Shantung or Manchuria. But such students have observed that in both countries there are at work elements whose active propaganda tends to produce increase in irritation and to create

*Hart, Oriental Problem as the Coast Sees It. World's Work, Mar. 1906.
**Sato, K. Race Prejudice, Phychological Analysis. Japanese Review, pp. 336-337. June 1920, and other articles, same periodical.

working twelve hours a day, burning the midnight oil, and exploiting in the opportunity, will be denied ability to secure his own eight-hour day, only a little or possible, and yet, but not extra, his five dollar bill in one and of it. Of course, he objects to "cheap Asiatic labor." Query: which is yellowest?

"The South African magnate on the gold reef of Johannesburg, or in the great diamond-mine or elsewhere, hates the appreciation of the black man to the white,--intellectually and economically,--because he wishes to keep the blacks in constant slavery, and intends that for a year at a time behind his barbed-wire stockade. So he profits at the missionary and the schoolmaster, and continues to despise the negro because he can exploit him. Otherwise he would lose him.

"Yet the philanthropic philanthropist, when he counts on the situation, begins to shiver in his shoes as he realizes that the coloured-labor colored race outnumber the whites, three to one; that they dominate, a hundred to one, the two largest continents, and are in a large majority in yet another continent.

I. General attitude of Japan and the United States towards each other

"Those who have studied the question from the point of view of the United States and also of the Far East, are convinced that neither Japan nor Japan wants war, over either the California question or anything or everything. But most students have observed that in both countries there are at work elements which are willing and ready to produce incidents in irritation and to create

in the public mind a belief that sooner or later war is inevitable. In spite of this, if the steadily growing liberalism of Japan can be encouraged and strengthened by a sympathetic attitude on the part of America and England, the power of the military imperialists will be finally broken, and a solution found for all outstanding questions—even that of the Open Door?

1. Her Feeling of Injustice

It is impossible to discuss any phase or feature of the Far Eastern problem with any educated Japanese "without realizing how deeply the national mind is imbued with a bitter sense of the injustice of the white races, which deny the principle of racial equality in the Western World, while insisting on the Open Door and equal opportunity in the East. The unwise handling of the question at Versailles only increased the resentment felt upon the subject of racial discrimination, always widespread and bitter. This resentment constitutes the strongest asset of the military party and of the Pan-Asian Imperialists, who dream, as did the militarists of Germany, of a great war of conquest and the overlordship of vast territory."

Competition by Japanese merchants for trade on the Asiatic continent will no doubt also lead them to take advantage, often unfair, and Japanese exploiters of Chinese concessions, sometimes obtained by questionable means, will no doubt continue to extend their activities. How far the reports are true that one hears in the East that Japanese agencies, through a great variety of sinister means, purposely foment internal troubles in the Republic of China and corrupt the morals of her people it is difficult to ascertain. But if it be admitted that the fact is true, it is another indication of that a fragile structure the national government of the Chinese Republic is composed.

In the public mind a belief that sooner or later war is inevitable. In spite of this, if the steadily growing liberalism of Japan can be encouraged and strengthened by a sympathetic attitude on the part of Europe and America, the power of the military imperialists will be finally broken, and a solution found for all outstanding questions--even that of the Open Door.

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Demonetization by 1-pence merchants for trade on the basis of cheap labor will no doubt also lead them to take advantage, often unfairly, and Japanese exploiters of Chinese concessions, concessions obtained by questionable means, will no doubt continue to extend their activities. Nor let the reports are true that one hears in the East that Japanese agents, through a great variety of sinister means, purposely foment internal troubles in the Republic of China and corrupt the morals of her people it is difficult to ascertain. But if it be admitted that the fact is true, it is another indication of what a fatalistic structure the national government of the Chinese Republic is composed.

2. Our Abundance and Her Need.

But in connection with all these activities of the Japanese, it must be remembered that Japan is an enlightened and civilized modern nation.* Her statesmen of all parties feel the responsibility for adequately caring for the interests of her citizens, both in the matter of providing for their creature comforts and also for their enlightenment and training in the duties of citizenship. She does not and cannot produce enough to feed her people. She is without the raw materials to maintain her industries. Her population is increasing at the rate of from 600,000 to 700,000 annually. Her circumscribed islands are overcrowded and the restricted area of agricultural land compels them to adopt methods of cultivation not equaled in their intensive character in any other part of the world. The people on her islands already number 376 to the square mile, indicating a density exceeded only in Belgium and Holland. Agricultural Japan is one continuous truck garden, and waste land suitable for agriculture is rarer than in almost any other country of the world. Of the entire land area of Japan only 30% is arable, while about 65% is mountainous or swampy, or unavailable on account of the climate for agricultural purposes. If there are sixty millions of Japanese in Japan their existence would have to be dependent upon the cultivation of 44,000 square miles, or one-fourth of an acre per capita. To provide food for her population and raw materials for her industries, it is absolutely essential that Japan should extend her industrial activities to the Asiatic continent. The fact may as well be looked at candidly and that cannot be done without a

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*Sato, Race Prejudice, Psychological Analysis, Japanese Review, pp. 336-337, June 1920

*Longford, J. H. Japan, a great economic Power, nineteenth Century, 523:526-539

6. Her dependence and her need.

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Note. See Ireland, Psychological Analysis, Chapter Review, pp. 57-67, Ginn 1920

Lane, L. M., "Japan, a Great Power in Peace", Chapter Destiny pp. 1-18

study of Japan's real necessities, and an endeavor to deal with them sympathetically. Opposition to Japan based upon insensate prejudice or condemnation of her methods as being based solely upon her militaristic and imperialistic designs will not bring a solution of the problem. If the United States and other Western powers refuse to recognize Japan's needs and continue to coddle China, in order to maintain for some indefinite period her national integrity, territorial and political, they will force Japan to adopt a policy which would be by no means agreeable to them.*

3. Exclusion Means Unfriendliness

"Should the Congress at Washington see fit to exclude the Japanese from citizenship, the act would permit no other interpretation than that America no longer desired friendly relations with Japan. It would provoke the most unpleasant feeling in the hearts of sixty million people of the Empire. It would raise a barrier of enmity between the United States and the nations of Asia, and set at naught all the hopes and expectations of those high-minded, noble men and women all over the world who have for ages toiled for the cause of international peace. I make this statement as one who has consistently stood by America, who has for years made sincere efforts to promote good understanding between the two nations. No one can accuse me of anti-American sentiment. No one will question my friendship and admiration for America. Yet I am constrained to say the passage of such resolutions by the Congress of America will be accepted by us as notice served upon Japan for the severance of amicable relations with us."**

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*Isman, J. M. Japan's Agression, Forum 65:1-19, Jan. 1921.
**Report, New York Times. March 10, 1923.

study of Japan's real motivations, and an attempt to deal with them realistically. Opposition to views based upon inaccurate premises or conclusions of fact methods as being based solely upon our ultimately and imperfectly derived will and being a solution of the problem. If the United States and other Western powers fail to recognize Japan's needs and continue to monitor China, in order to maintain far some indefinite period her national integrity, territorial and political, they will force Japan to adopt a policy which could be by no means advantageous to them.

3. Continued Japan Difficulties

Should the Congress as Washington and fail to achieve the Japanese from aliminosity, the not could permit no other international than that Japan to longer desired friendly relations with Japan. It would prevent the most unfortunate feeling in the hearts of many million people of the Empire. It would raise a barrier of enmity between the United States and the nations of Asia, and not at length all the hopes and expectations of those high-minded, statesmen and men all over the world who have for years toiled for the cause of international peace. I make this statement as one who has consistently stood by Japan, who has for years made sincere efforts to promote good understanding between the two nations. In one respect as of anti-foreign sentiment. No one will question my friendship and admiration for America. Yet I am convinced to any the passage of such resolutions by the Congress of America will be regarded by us as notice served upon Japan for the severance of amicable relations with us.[1]

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[1] Grew, Joseph C., Ambassador, Letter to Hull, Cordell, Secretary, Feb. 17, 1921. Grew Papers, Letter 18, 1924.

The occasion for the above speech from which we have quoted was the introduction of three resolutions into the Congress, all aiming to deprive American-born individuals of Oriental parentage of the American citizenship heretofore quaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The speaker was Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, one of Japan's publicists.

The alarm created in Japan by these proposals was the greater, as the Japanese had already been upset by the rulings of the Supreme Court upholding the California and Washington land laws, which prohibit Japanese and other ineligible aliens from cultivating land except as day laborers. The introduction in the Congress of an Immigration Bill proposing to abrogate the "gentlemen's agreement" and to put the Japanese in the excluded class of aliens had added to the alarm.

4. Pacific States in Regard to Dual Nationality

For years it has been a prevalent idea on the Pacific coast that the Japanese are too loyal to their native country, and that the Japanese Government encouraged even American-born Japanese to retain dual nationality. To meet this argument, or rather excuse for discrimination, many Japanese have been urging that Japanese nationality laws be so revised as to regard Japanese born in America as American citizens, and not as Japanese. The Tokyo Government adopted a few years ago a measure of compromise, whereby American-born Japanese could obtain expatriation if they applied for it before they were eighteen years old. The Government has now proposed a law permitting such Japanese to expatriate without age limit. The wisdom of such liberal steps on the part of Japan may be questioned, if Congress is likely to lend ear to such discriminatory

The opening for the above-quoted item, which by here quoted was the introduction of three resolutions into our Congress, all aiming to deprive American-born Japanese of fundamental rights of the American citizenship notwithstanding guarantees of Amendment to the Constitution. The speaker was Senator Tomlinson, one of Idaho's multitudes.

The plans drawn up in Japan by those responsible for the events, as the Japanese had already bamboozled by the judges of the Supreme Court deciding the California and Washington land laws, which prohibit Japanese and other ineligible aliens from acquiring land except as day laborers. The introduction in the Congress of an immigration bill proposing to exclude the "nonaliens" appeared and to put the Japanese in the excluded class of aliens not added to the class.

2. Peaking Intent in Regard to Dual Nationality

For years it has been a typical idea on the Pacific coast that the Japanese are too loyal to their native country, and that the Japanese Government compelled even American-born Japanese to retain dual nationality. To meet this argument, or rather excuse for discrimination, many Japanese have been quoting that Japanese nationality law to be so trivial as to regard Japanese born in America as American citizens, and not as Japanese. The Tokyo Government adopted a law years ago which contained a provision, thereby American-born Japanese could obtain expatriation if they applied for it before they were eighteen years old. The Government has now repealed a law permitting such persons to expatriate without the application. The choice of such liberal terms on the part of Japan may be sentimental, if Japanese are likely to live out to such sentimentality

proposals as are contained in the three resolutions I have noted. Certainly Japan would not be so heartless as to take any measure likely to make any Japanese in America a "man without a country."

It is the belief among the Japanese that Japanese or Chinese born and reared on American soil will, under normal circumstances and in a friendly atmosphere, prove just as loyal to America as American-born children of European parentage. If America wished to Americanize her Oriental population, the wise course for her to follow would be to give it the best opportunity for assimilation. The denial of such opportunity to American-born Orientals would merely aggravate the situation and would create new troubles. Japan looks upon such denial as inhuman and as a reflection upon her national honor and prestige.

"Our policy must show real safety in the Pacific. No one power, not even ourselves, can well be entrusted with might uncontrolled by the community. The community of nations bordering on the Pacific must be formidable, and not the several nations of themselves.

The key to the Pacific is in Europe; or rather, the keys are in Europe, Asia, and America. With the powers hovering over China, ready to snatch more flesh from her living body, Japan (by all principles of worldly wisdom) can follow little other than per present course. The only way to keep what she has (again by the worldly wisdom to which we ourselves have subscribed) is to be forever getting more. Japan's danger to us is not that she is strange to our modern world, but that she has revealed as in a glass the very face and features of the Occident. She reveals in an unexpected quarter the intrinsic peril of the historic policies of the West."*

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*Wallace, J. B. Waving the Red Flag in California. Dearborn Independent.

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5. Willingness of Japan to Cooperate

"We can in honor ask of her nothing that we ourselves will not grant. She and we can be brought to comity only by a communal device for safety, an agreement organized and made institutional, in which we with others take the risk along with the benefit. Japan has shown her willingness to enter such a cooperative device, while we have refused. Japan has been willing to have her aggressive hand prevented, and to give her pledged support against the aggressive hands of others; while we have been unwilling. We haggle over the terms upon which we shall become a member of an organized community; we want no inconvenience of contract, of stated obligation. Japan has been willing to bind herself, even with her chief rival left in all liberty of action. This difference in spirit of accommodation to a new world-order ought to make our residents in the East less confident that we are always right and Japan always wrong.

(a) Attempt of Press to Conciliate

Now, it has long been the aim of the foreign office in Tokyo to influence Japanese press comment in a spirit of friendliness to both England and America. The clansmen are eager to conciliate the whole Anglo-Saxon world. The journalists who are at the same time professional politicians are well aware that they can embarrass their clansmen foes by outbreaks in the press against Washington and London. Sometimes a vernacular organ will rail against California's land laws. Again, a popular sheet in a provincial enter will insist that the Japanese fleet be large enough to cope with that of England. These comments are not inspired by much first-hand knowledge of the state of international affairs. They reflect simply the hostility between the journalists and the bureaucrats.

3. Willingness of Japan to Compromise

The conviction held of her nothing that we entertain will not prevail. Japan can not be brought to assist only by a temporal advantage for safety, the appreciation organized and made institutional. In point so vital achieve the risk along with the benefit. Japan has shown her willingness to enter such a cooperative design, which we have refused. Japan has been willing to have her aspirations heard protected, and to give her pledged support against the aggressive heads of others, while we have been muttering. We begin over the terms upon which we shall become a member of an organized community; we seek no investigation of matters, of at least obligation. Japan has been willing to stick herself, even with her moral rival into in all liberty of action. This difference in spirit of accommodation is a new social-order sought to save our residents in the East lies confident that we are always right and Japan always wrong.

(4) Attempt of Press to Demoralize

Now, it has long been the aim of the foreign office in Tokyo to influence Japanese press opinion in a spirit of friendliness to both England and America. The elements are angry to demoralize the whole Anglo-Saxon world. The journalists who are of the more professional politicians are well aware that they can influence their dispatches have by embassies in the press against Englishmen and Yankees. Somehow a vernacular organ will not against Britisher's land laws. Again, a popular chant in a provincial order will insist that the Japanese fleet be large enough to copy with that of England. These comments are not inspired by such friendlinesses of the style of international affairs. They reflect simply the hostility between the journalists and the bureaucrats.

In the days that are still not distant, it was possible for the censors to control Japanese press comment. That is all but impossible today. For one thing, the press has grown too huge, too powerful. In the next place, the politicians are so numerous as well as so influential that the tactics of a former day are no longer practical. The officials at Tokyo must now conciliate when they would prefer to suppress. There is no anti-British or anti-American feeling in the Japanese press generally. There are merely squabbles at home in the course of which Japanese international relations become a football."*

Q. Japan Seeks Outlet on Asiatic Continent

Japan feels compelled to seek an outlet on the Asiatic Continent for her surplus population. Everything points to the conclusion that Japan's rules will not consent to permit the expansion of the country to be confined to Korea and Manchuria. Japan impresses one, almost more than any other country, by the prevalence throughout all classes of society of the spirit that Prince Ito describes as "full consciousness, confidence, and interest in the national mission and the national destiny." Marquis Okuma once said in an article: "There can be no doubt that Japan will propagate in China and other countries in the Orient whose standard of civilization is low, her new civilization, which is a product of harmonizing the Japanese and European civilization. In a sense, Japan may be said to have the mission, of harmonizing eastern and western civilization, and of propagating the new civilization; nay, I do not hesitate to declare that this is her mission."* When

*Japan's Diplomacy of Necessity, Living Age, 316:638-640
**Longford, Nineteenth Century. Japan a Great Economic Power 85:1030-1040.

In the days that are still not distant, it was possible for the country to control Japanese press comment. That is all but impossible today. For one thing, the press has grown too large, too powerful. In the meet place, the politicians are so numerous as well as so influential that the leaders of a former day are no longer obeyed. The politicians at Tokyo must not constitute when they speak under to anything. There is no anti-British or anti-American feeling in the Japanese press generally. There are merely expressions at home in the course of which Japanese international relations become a football."*

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*Tyler Dennett, Japan's Aspirations, Living Age, 312:488-4.

severe economic pressure underlies a virile nation's belief in its divine mission, such a nation's claims to expansion are not likely to be permanently checked except by superior force. The future policy of Japan's rulers and their solution of her vital food problem will tend rather in the direction of economic than of territorial expansion.

1. Advantage to Orient in General

In both countries the natives are much better off today, economically speaking, than they were before the coming of the Japanese. Their standard of living has been materially raised, and the bandit has gone out of business in most places. The Japanese soldiery in Korea has committed many acts of brutal severity, but the policy of the Imperial Government on the whole has been wise, farseeing, and liberal. Japan has spent more money in both countries than she is likely to get out of them, and their natural resources are being developed in a way that the natives never would have thought of attempting; but the fact stands out that all this development is administrative and that most of the actual work is done by native labor.

It is part of the Japanese Government's deliberate policy of feeding Japan's home industries by the establishment, with all possible safeguards for the future, of new sources of raw material and new markets for consumption of Japanese manufacture. It is a conquest by railway and bank development, unaccompanied by any large scale movement of Japanese settlers or soldiery; and this, for the simple reason that Chinese labor is far more economical and more efficient than Japanese.*

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*Gulick. Where East is West. Outlook, 102:12-14.

severe economic pressure undermines a viable nation's belief in its divine origins, such a nation's claim to sovereignty can not likely be peacefully evaded except by superior force. The Japanese policy of Japan's riches and their solution offers vital food problems lay more in the direction of economic than of territorial expansion.

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*Lattimore, There, p. 1 in Amer. Quarterly, IXX:1:1-14.

China is like a great slumbering giant, and the vital question of the Orient is how long the world will wait for her to awaken. In commerce, in industry, in the education and culture of the masses; indeed, in all the activities of the modern state, Japan is progressing far more rapidly, withfar more confidence in her destiny, and with a more promising prospect of achieving her aims, than China or any other country of the Far East. How long can her progress be arrested;--how long can she be restrained in her national aspirations, in order to let China catch up and create a balance of power, giving stability to both of the two great Oriental powers? No nation on earth has more interest in this question than the United States.

2. Desire of Justification

It does not need a long sojourn in Japan, or much contact with her people, to discover that they are more anxious to know what we think of them than we are to concern ourselves with their national activities. The liberal element is particularly anxious to justify Japan in the eyes of the world for such measures as the occupation of Shantung and the annexation of Korea; and members of the so-called military party are themselves by no means indifferent. It results that the opportunity for America as a great power on the Pacific to keep Japanese aspirations within reasonable bounds, was never better, in spite of the exacerbation temporarily caused by the California situation. But will America deal wisely and consistently with the Oriental situation? If its Eastern policy is to change with each administration so radically it is not reasonably to be expected that it will be very effective. What is needed is a definite well-rounded, consistent and continuous policy with ref-

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ference to Oriental matters.* If such a policy can be adopted it will have enormous influence in shaping the destinies of the East.

R. Japan's Case

To sum up, let us consider some of the reasons why Japan feels hurt and humiliated, could we as Americans put ourselves in Japan's place. In the first place the act of Congress was passed notwithstanding her willing offer to make any rearrangement of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" consistent with national honor and justice. She was anxious to meet the reasonable demands of the United States whose friendship she prized and only as courteous consideration and fair play which she felt were denied her by the abrupt undignified ending of an agreement which she had endeavored to keep in an honorable manner.

Japan felt that the drastic action of Congress discredited her by implying that she had failed to enforce the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which she had reason to think was "throwing the lie in her face," an implication which she could not ignore. The Act as passed was the climax to a series of anti-Japanese laws which had been passed by the western states. She had as far as was consistent with national honor overlooked these as indicative more of local than national sentiment, as she wished to feel that America as a whole, was friendly and just. Our relations with Japan had always been of an ideal character, and up to the time of the passage of the Act she had regarded us as her friend in a real sense. It hurt and humiliated her to feel that we evidently were ready to ignore this relationship.

Japan, of all Asiatic nations, is the only one which has, of

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*Taft, Henry W. Our Relations with Japan. Japan Society. Seattle, Oregon.

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Japan felt that the drastic action of Congress discredited her by implying that she had failed in enforce the "Gentlemen's Agreement;" which she had reason to think was "throwing the lie in her face;" an implication which she could not ignore. The act was also the climax to a series of anti-Japanese laws which had been passed by the western states. She had as far as was consistent with national honor overlooked these as indicative more of local than national sentiment. As she stood to feel that America as a whole, was friendly and just. Our relations with Japan had always been of an ideal character, and up to the time of the passage of the act she had regarded us as her friend in a real sense. It must be humiliated her to feel that we evidently were ready to ignore this relationship.

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its own accord, conformed to the Occidental civilization in almost all lines--industrial, political, educational, financial and diplomatic. As a first class power and a major nation the blow was the more stunning. What hurt her in the wording of the law was the phrase "aliens ineligible to citizenship." To her this seemed to imply the inherent inferiority of the race, and therefore her people were unfit to become citizens of the democratic United States. This she would never admit as a race-individuals might be. These were, in the main, the points on which Japan took issue.

There are, on the other hand, many things for her to bear in mind, and as many for us, as Americans.

1. Feeling of Race Prejudice

While it may seem to the Japanese that the attitude of America is determined by race prejudice, and while this may be admitted to be true of some small portion of the American people, it certainly is not true of the great majority. The people of the western coastal states have a reasonable ground for fear if unrestricted immigration were allowed Asiatics, and in this the people of the United States, as a whole, sympathize more or less. The influx of Asiatics, and in this the people of the United States, as a whole, sympathize more or less. The influx of Asiatics would unquestionably lead to labor conflicts between such groups and the white people in their struggle for a livlihood. Race prejudice would inevitably be aroused which would easily cross the sea. The American people have not yet forgotten the awfulness of the experience over the Southern Negro. We had one terrible civil war, and that race problem is yet far from settled. Why, think many, should we invite another? Let us stop it before it begins. So far as the

life our forces centered in the Continental civilization in-clude all lines--industrial, political, educational, financial and diplomatic. As a first class power and a major ally the Bloc was the more eliminated. That Bloc has in the meeting of the Law and the Church reforms impossible to disassemble. To her this account to fully the interest integrity of the race, and therefore her people were unit to take on citizens of the democratic United States. This can audio never occur as a race-individualic might be. These are, in the main, the points on which Japan took issue.

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1. Testing of Race Prejudice

While it may seem to the Japanese that the attitude of America is determined by race prejudice, and while this may be alleged to be true of more small portion of the American people, it certainly is not true of the great majority. The people of the Pacific coastal states have a reasonable ground for fear if unrestricted immigration were allowed Asiatics, and in this the people of the United States, as a whole, sympathize more or less. The Indian of Asiatic, and in this the people of the United States, as a whole, sympathize more or less. The Indian of Asiatic, and in this the people of the United States, as a whole, sympathize more or less. The racial antagonism of Asiatic social assimilation only leads to labor conflicts between work groups and the white people in their struggle for a livelihood. Race prejudice could invariably be aroused which would easily cross the sea. The American people have not yet forgotten the sentiment of the expulsion over the Southern Negro. We had one terrible civil war, and that race problem is yet far from settled. Why, think they, should we invite another. Let us stop it before it begins. So far as the

"Gentlemen's Agreement" was concerned that agreement stopped only a portion of Japanese immigration, an explanation of the continued agitation on the Pacific coast. Again, the Japanese need to remind themselves that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was not a treaty in the diplomatic meaning of that term, but an arrangement between our State Department and the Japanese Government. Copies were denied to members of Congress when they sought to obtain them. The natural inference was that this was a "secret" arrangement with terms unfavorable to the United States. Congress was not anxious to continue the arrangement since according to the Constitution immigration is a matter entirely under its jurisdiction.

We too as American citizens need to have in mind certain considerations. The Japanese are here lawfully. They came in the first instance by invitation, and by urgent invitation. The Orient did not thrust itself upon us, as we of the Occident forced ourselves upon them. All admitted under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" are lawfully here, and cannot be denied the same treatment as is accorded all other aliens. That they ever had any plan for gaining ascendency in this country in any direction may be set down to the credit of yellow journalism--there is not the slenderest thread of credible evidence. If there ever had been reasonable ground for the holding of such opinion, it should have been forever dispelled by their hearty acceptance of the policy of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

To those who contend that the Japanese would not make good and loyal American citizens there is just one answer to make, viz. that it is radically illogical to deny them naturalization, and then attack them for not being genuinely interested in America.

Objection to them by Californians and others like-minded is based on their virtues, not their vices. They compare more than favorably with any race among us in thrift, industry, honesty, uprightness and cooperation.

3. Discrimination Objected to.

Moreover, America needs to realize and appreciate that the crux of Japanese humiliation and resentment lies not in the stopping of immigration, but in the discrimination. This statement can be substantiated by reference to many authorites on Japanese opinion. One will suffice. A leading Japanese Journal makes the following statement. "It is not restriction, therefore, but discrimination that is objected to: and Japan believes that in such objection she has right on her side, the right of treaty, law, and humanity... Japan does resent a clause that, while not mentioning Japanese specifically, affects Japanese alone of all the races heretofore eligible to enter the United States and which, in an act of Congress, stamps Japanese as of an inferior race. Japan has no discriminatory legislation. Her laws regarding land ownership by aliens apply to all aliens...No right nor privilege is withheld from American citizens in Japan that is not withheld from all alliens, and the citizens of no land have any privilege in Japan that are not shared equally by the citizens of the United States."

3. Statement of Her Attitude

The feeling of the Japanese nation is fairly and firmly stated in this quotation. It is an indictment of the legislation of the United States. **"Discrimnatory race legislation is bad policy.

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*Editorial. Japan Times. October 1, 1924.
**Gulick. Establishment of Right Relations between America and Japan. Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. N.Y.1924.

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"Editorial. Japan Times. October 1, 1924.
"Editorial. Establishment of Right Relations between America and Japan. Tokyo: Tokyo Council of Chambers of Commerce in America. p. 1924.

It is bad for America herself. It injures our ideals; it lowers our culture and our moral character as a nation. It deprives us moreover of the material advantages to be secured by the full utilization of the native capacities of all our people. It creates ill-will toward us on the part of the race or people discriminated against. It interferes with international good will--so vital in the maintenance of world-peace and the promotion of world commerce."

In view of the various considerations presented there seems to be two situations that must be faced and determined with fairness and justice to both parties: one that adequately meets the demands of our Western coastal states for protection from Asiatic immigration, and so far as Japan is concerned there must be no race discrimination.

4. The United States a Democratic Nation

The history of our country characterized from its beginning by a series of efforts to establish, to maintain, and to extend the true spirit of democracy, here and the world over. We have striven to break down the unwarranted supposition of the innate inferiority of any race or people or groups of men anywhere; we have attempted to remove barriers that hinder or prevent individuals from rising above their traditional status. We have asserted the right of every individual to justice and consideration.

Shall we maintain our standards with respect to the Japanese?

5. Summary of the Arguments as Brought Out in the Discussion

I Points for the Japanese to consider

a. There is in the West a genuine fear of unrestricted immigration.

b. A large influx of Orientals might lead to violent racial conflict.

c. For successful democracy there must be homogeneity of population.

d. We have one unassimilated race--the negro; this fact makes us wary of another.

e. Gentlemen's Agreement was not a treaty under the control of the Senate as provided by the Constitution.

f. Gentlemen's Agreement did not stop satisfactorily the flood of immigration, granting that the Japanese were honestly administering it.

g. The Exclusion Act of 1924 was not, in intent, a discriminative measure, but a means of protection.

h. The quota law is the most satisfactory plan for the present--it is not discriminatory.

II Points to be kept in mind by Americans.

a. The Japanese are here lawfully.

b. The Japanese population has never been alarmingly large.

c. There has never been an attempt on the part of the Japanese to dominate the west coast, from any point of view.

d. Japanese compare, in every respect, very favorably with all other races who have come to our shores. Objections to them in California based on their virtues, not their vices.

e. That they cannot be said to be unassimilable when they have been denied the opportunity.

f. The Japanese are a proud and sensitive people--the most progressive and enlightened people of the East--they protest exclusion as "aliens ineligible to citizenship."

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NOTE:

All pamphlet and magazine articles were read in full: the books by Kawakami, "Asia At the Door," "Japan in World Politics," and "What Japan Thinks," were read quite fully, probably three-fourths of each one. One-half of Jenks and Lauck was read and one-half of "Japanese in America," by Treat. "Japanese Problem" by Milles was read quite fully, covering all points touched upon in the paper.

"California and the Orient" was used as a study, not reading it from cover to cover, but looking up all such points as were needed for use. From Baker-Hayes and Hudnut the whole on the subject under consideration was used.

Lots of little short articles which I came across in various magazines I have made no account of as they had no additional information and evidently came from the same source as the longer ones read.

Date Due
